

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

Running Memoranda File

VOLUME I

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Parts I, II and III

*Philip R. ...*

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GROUP 1

July 2, 1958

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Running Memorandum is complete in itself and will have current value as long as the organization continues to function.

Running Memorandum is brought up to date four times per year covering the periods January 1 to March 31; April 1 to June 30; July 1 to September 30; and October 1 to December 31.



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**FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.**

**Running Memoranda**

Original - Director  
Copies - Mr. Nease  
          Mr. Boardman  
          Mr. Belmont  
          Liaison Section  
          Mr. Gaffney

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In the interest of eliminating superfluous indexing, only names of prominent individuals and individuals and organizations having a connection with the Fund are indexed herein. Cited organizations and publications are also not indexed but are listed alphabetically in the Appendix Section above.

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8-28-56

**FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC**

Various individuals and organizations in this country have been very critical of the Government's loyalty-security program and are attempting to minimize the danger of communism. Notable in this group is the Fund for the Republic, which, since its inception in 1951, has been severely criticized for having undertaken various projects, making grants, and distributing materials described by critics as slanted, biased and pro-communist. Our Special Remoranda Unit has been closely following the activities of the Fund and has been promptly analyzing and reporting its activities to the Director and the Attorney General wherever appropriate. The Unit has in the past and will in the future continue to be alert to the Fund's dubious activities and to make suggestions for bringing them out into the open for public attention.

MR. L. F. GORDMAN

November 22,  
1955

MR. A. H. BELMONT

FUND FOR THE LITERARY

(Bufile 100-391697-301)

The Central Research Section recently completed a 100-page monograph concerning the captioned organization which sets forth the results of a comprehensive and exhaustive review of Bufile concerning the constitution of this fund. The monograph also reflects derogatory information concerning the organizations and individuals connected with the Fund as of 9-9-55.

Considerable information of a public and classified nature regarding the Fund is received by the Bureau daily. In view of the controversial nature of the fund the Director is being informed of its pertinent activities and wherever appropriate the Attorney General is also advised. Excerpts of the pertinent information received regarding the Fund are being prepared and maintained by the Special Memoranda Unit of the Liaison Section for inclusion in a running memorandum file. It is believed advisable that the monograph prepared by the Central Research Section be used as basic information in the Fund Running Memoranda File. This file will thereafter be brought up to date every three months beginning January 1, 1956, to reflect the pertinent activities of the fund since the preparation of the monograph. Information in the supplemental memoranda will be set forth under the pertinent captions and headings maintained in the monograph. The original of the Fund Running Memoranda File will thereafter be kept in the Director's office, and a copy will be maintained in the offices of Messrs. Nichols, Boardman and Belmont and in the Special Memoranda Unit of the Liaison Section. At the end of each revision, the Running Memoranda File will be obtained from these offices by the Special Memoranda Unit at which time the supplemental pages will be inserted.

ACTION:

(1) A running memorandum file will be maintained on the Fund for the Republic and if you approve, the monograph on the Fund recently prepared by the Central Research Section will be used as the basic information in this file.

(2) With your approval the Fund Running Memoranda File will be brought up to date as of 1-1-56 and every three months thereafter.

Respectfully (7)

1 - Mr. Boardman  
1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Nichols  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Assoc. Dir.  
1 - Mr. Tamm

Jan. 16, 1956

Insert for Director  
Perley re appearance  
before NSR

THE FUND FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

Since its inception in 1951 the Fund for the American People has been the subject of numerous comments from columnists, commentators, and organizations such as the American Legion, who have severely criticized the Fund for: (1) its assumption that the Communist Party, U.S.A., is a dangerous threat to the security of the United States, but merely another political party; (2) its extensive reliance on "investigating" the "investigators" - Congressional committees and other governmental investigative organizations; (3) its efforts to obstruct the security probe laws; (4) its activities as a political and propaganda agency rather than a non-profit foundation; (5) a similarity of its program in many respects to that of the Communist Party, U.S.A., thus indirectly aiding the aims and purposes of the Party.

Former officers of the Fund have in the past been very critical of the security program in the United States and have issued statements attempting to minimize the danger of Communism in this country. For example, Charles E. Johnson, President, stated in April, 1955, that he was certain about the Communist Party cause and he said that he did not consider the Communist Party in the U. S. to constitute a clear and present danger to the internal security of the country; and that he did not favor the enactment of legislation which would illegalize the Party. In April, 1955, he criticized the Smith-McDuffie Bill as "foolish, stupid, and dangerous" and expressed hope that the measure would be defeated. He was critical of the U. S. Supreme Court decision in June, 1954, upholding the constitutionality of the Smith Act. In December, 1955, he denounced the activities of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA), protesting the "system of censorship." In December, 1955, he was opposed to loyalty oaths and denounced Congressional committees investigating Communism. In November, 1955, he publicly stated that he would not hesitate to hire a Communist.

CLARENCE F. BROWN, Vice-President, has reportedly stated that the danger of Communism in the U. S. is a myth and that he intended to "explode" that myth. John L. Wilson, member, Board of Directors, in December, 1955, was critical of the loyalty program. Robert M. La Follette, Congressman, denounced the national security program in a radio broadcast and newspaper article in September, 1955.

Since its inception the Fund has undertaken and/or completed various projects which have been severely criticized as slanted, biased, and anti-Communist. For example, in 1953 the Fund undertook a project to study the Communist influence in American life. In October, 1953, it hired Earl Browder, former head of the Communist Party, USA, as a source of information and raw material. The advisability of hiring Browder was severely questioned by various commentators and writers due to Browder's prior Communist background and the fact that he had repeatedly refused to furnish information on the subject of Communism to the FBI and the Department of Justice. In 1954 the Fund awarded a grant to the Gertrude Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, Inc., to sponsor community discussions regarding basic rights of Americans. Pamphlets, which had been distributed in connection with the Freedom Agenda discussion groups, tend to minimize the Communist menace in this country and create a concern regarding the alleged vanishing civil liberties and constitutional rights. Writers of some of these pamphlets have been identified with pro-Communist activities. In 1955 the Fund distributed a book entitled, "Case Studies in Personnel Security," which was prepared by Adam Yermolinsky, a staff member. The book purports to be a survey of 50 case histories of individuals whose cases were processed under various personnel security programs. Yermolinsky admits in his book that his selection of cases was limited to those which were selected for publication and distribution, although he had reviewed hundreds of such cases. This fact, he said, may have had an effect on the samples used. In addition, Yermolinsky's so-called survey did not contain the benefit of the Government's records concerning these cases.

In January, 1955, the Fund completed and distributed the "Bibliography on the Communist Problem in the United States," which contains literature relating to Communism in the United States since 1919. Following its release, the bibliography was severely attacked by writers and scholars as being incomplete in that it left out anti-Communist writings. The Fund publicly admitted this error in October, 1955, and stated that the book would be rewritten to correct the mistake.

To date the Fund has distributed thousands of books, articles, pamphlets, and other pertinent material to various libraries, educational institutions, attorneys, professors and schoolteachers, and to the general public. Many of these writings have been attacked as being false and containing misleading statements. They have been described as being anti-FBI, anti-Congressional committees,

an attempt to minimize the Communist threat, and as critical  
of the loyalty-security program. (A sample, in 1953  
the first distributed copy of the book, "The Fifth  
Column: How to Spot and Destroy It," was sent to  
entirely critical of the FBI and Immigration Commission,  
concerning to William Latta, Jr., on 1/1/53, the  
and only distributed copy of a pamphlet prepared by  
G. Eberhart Williams for the Southern Law Center which took  
issue to the book.

The book has distributed some books written under  
the "Cornell Series in Civil Liberties." The books,  
"Security, Loyalty, and Liberty," and "The United and  
Liberation," written by Professor Walter Gellhorn, Columbia  
University, minimize the Communist threat, effects of  
controversy, and call the loyalty-security program ineffective.  
Other books in this series actually criticize the loyalty-  
security program.

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APPENDIX

Organizations and Publications Designated by  
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or cited by Congressional or State Committee.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BACKGROUND

Public Comment

"The Communist cause in America has had a lucky break."

These are the words of the editor of U. S. News and World Report, the nationally known correspondent, David Lawrence, in referring to The Fund for the Republic.

In considering the effect of the Fund, Lawrence points out these discordant features:

1. The \$15,000,000 for the creation of the Fund was originally derived from the free-enterprise system through the diligent and inventive efforts of the late Henry Ford.
2. This money was being used to help persuade the people of the United States that Communist activity in America has been insignificant and unimportant.
3. Yet, one of the main objectives of Communism is to destroy this system which provided the \$15,000,000.

As an additional interesting factor, Mr. Lawrence stated that:

"To be able to mobilize \$15,000,000 to carry on a political propaganda and to put it in a fund which is exempt from paying income taxes is quite an achievement for any cause however well intentioned...."

Charlotte (N. C.) Observer,  
August 31, 1955

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Part  
I

Another nationally known columnist, George Sokolsky, made a public appraisal of the Fund at a much earlier date. On March 9, 1953, Mr. Sokolsky reported that the Fund was undertaking an enterprise which required scrutiny because of the nature of the institution and its entrance into political activity.

Times-Herald (Washington, D. C.),  
March 9, 1953

Under the date line of September 16, 1955, Washington correspondent John Kelso reported a mounting public demand that the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee launch a full-scale probe of The Fund for the Republic.

Boston Post,  
September 17, 1955

The Fund for the Republic has been the subject of public and critical inspection by other persons and organizations in the United States including both public figures, newspaper and radio people, and significantly The American Legion. The Fulton Lewis, Jr., radio broadcast of September 12, 1955, supplied the views of Mr. Seaborn P. Collins, then National Commander of The American Legion. In regard to the Fund, the following comments were attributed to Mr. Collins:

The Fund is trying to propagandize Americans into believing that

1. Communism never has been and is not now a serious danger in this country.
2. Sinister forces under the pretext of fighting Communism are the real danger and threaten the civil liberties of all America.
3. Security measures are un-American and are being used to harass and persecute innocent people.
4. Intelligent and educated people are aware of these things but are opposed by the ignorant who are being misled by evil demagogues.

The Evening Star (Washington, D. C.),  
October 4, 1955  
Newark (N. J.) Star Ledger,  
October 4, 1955

Other analyses and criticisms of the activities of The Fund for the Republic will be considered in the following pages in light of the Fund's policies, objectives, leadership, personnel, plans, products and related activities.

#### ORIGIN

The official report of The Fund for the Republic states that it was authorized by the trustees of the Ford Foundation in October, 1951, and a million dollars appropriated for it at that time. In February, 1953, the Ford Foundation appropriated \$14, 000, 000 additional for the Fund



and it assumed a "completely-independent status."

Report of The Fund for the Republic,  
May 31, 1955, pp. 9-10

### LOCATION

#### New York and California

The Fund for the Republic, Inc., has two offices, one being at 60 East Forty-second Street, New York City; the other at 1444 Wentworth Avenue, Pasadena, California.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,  
May 31, 1955, p. 6

### POLICIES AND OBJECTIVES

The official report of the Fund dated May 31, 1955, includes material regarding the proclaimed policies and objectives of the Fund. These are being stated briefly with the more obvious related factors to assist the reader in appraising the nature of the Fund and its activity.

#### Duration and Expenditures

The Fund states that it was established to deal with problems which exist today, spending its principal as fast as can be judiciously

done, and not engaging in long-range research.

It may be pertinent to balance these claims with the May 31, 1955, financial report of the Fund. This report disclosed that since its incorporation in December, 1952, the Fund had spent but a small portion of its total assets. Of the original \$15,000,000, (plus interest on investments), the Fund had total assets of \$12,877,748. Against this, the Fund had liabilities of accounts payable of \$8,416, leaving a balance of \$12,869,332. In addition, the Fund was contingently liable for \$317,500, payable upon fulfillment of certain conditions.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,  
May 31, 1955, p. 32

#### Tax Exemption

On January 20, 1954, the Treasury Department ruled that The Fund for the Republic was exempt from income taxation under section 101 (6) of the Internal Revenue Code (1939).

Hearings, Special Committee to  
Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations  
and Comparable Organizations,  
83rd Congress, Part II

Section 101 (6) of the Internal Revenue Code (1939) grants an exemption to:

"Corporations, and any community chest, fund, or foundation,

organized and operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, literary, or educational purposes, or for the prevention of cruelty to children or animals, no part of the net earnings of which inures to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual, and no substantial part of the activities of which is carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting, to influence legislation."

26 U.S.C.A. (I.R.C. 1939) 101 (6)

Also see 26 U.S.C.A. (I.R.C. 1954) 501 (C) (3).

#### Fund Objective

The Fund briefly states that its objective is to advance understanding of civil liberties.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,  
May 31, 1955, pp. 10, 22

This stated objective has been scrutinized and the ability or intention of the Fund to fully carry out its objective has been questioned by the press, radio and members of Congress.

The members of the board of directors of the Fund signed a press release dated September 28, 1955, in which they reaffirmed their faith in its purposes and stated that the Fund hoped to make a contribution to the better understanding of effective procedures for dealing with the Communist menace while at the same time strengthening the American tradition of liberty and freedom.

## Neutrality

The Fund claims a neutrality in that it takes no position on matters relating to guilt by association, the conduct of congressional investigations and administrative hearings, the suppression of "conscientious non-conformity," or other such issues beyond affirming its faith in the principles of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. Simultaneously, it reports such positive positions as:

"The range of suspected persons has been enormously extended by resort to guilt by association."

"The evidence offered to show that a man is a danger to American institutions has often been farcically remote."

Report of The Fund for the Republic,  
May 31, 1955, pp. 11-12

The Fund does believe, according to its report, that the American people must take a position and the Fund will help supply the requisite information to keep them informed.

A report of a congressional committee doubted the neutrality of the Fund. According to this report, the publicly expressed opinions of Fund leadership on subject matters within the scope of activity of the Fund are too well known to permit the conclusion that the public was to be assured of an objective study.

Tax-Exempt Foundations-Report of the Special  
Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Founda-  
tions and Comparable Organizations, House  
of Representatives, Eighty-third Congress  
Second Session on H. Res. 217, December 16,  
1954

It can readily be seen that with \$15, 000, 000 for educational purposes the Fund could be an instrument for great public service if its projects were impartially and judicially presented. On the other hand, if the Fund seeks to establish preconceived views by some of its leaders it could become a divisive and disruptive force of great moment.

#### Independence from the Ford Foundation

According to the Fund's May 31, 1955, report, the Fund has not asked the Foundation to approve the policies of the Fund and the Foundation has not sought to exert influence over the Fund.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,  
May 31, 1955, p. 10

This independence from the Ford Foundation has been the subject of public comment. As one columnist, George Sokolsky, stated

"...it is impossible to believe that the Ford Foundation, which provided the enormous sum of \$15 million for the Fund, has absolutely nothing to say about it. It may be the truth, but it is not reasonable...."

The Washington Post and Times Herald,  
October 11, 1955

#### Fund Responsibility

Among the material that has been distributed by the Fund was

an article, "The Kept Witnesses" by Richard H. Rovere, appearing in the May, 1955, issue of Harper's Magazine. In response to a newspaper reporter's inquiry as to whether the Fund could vouch for the accuracy of the article, the spokesman for the Fund was quoted as saying, "We don't vouch for anything."

In the "Editor's Opinion" column of a Newark, New Jersey, newspaper dated October 4, 1955, a reaction to this view appeared:

"It seems to us that this is highly irresponsible behavior for an organization which claims to be seeking the truth."

Newark Star Ledger,  
October 4, 1955

PART I

HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC  
(September 10, 1955, to January 1, 1956)

FACTSHEET (no change)

CRITERIA (no change)

LOCATION

The Fund announced on 10-9-55 that they would open an office at Washington, D. C., to be located at 1900 Jefferson Place, N. W. The office was to be headed by Adam Yermolinsky, staff member who wrote the "Case Studies in Personnel Security," financed by the Fund. (10-10-55 issue of "New York Herald Tribune"; 10-14-55 "Sun Echo," Falls Church, Virginia; 100-391697-a)

POLICIES AND OBJECTIVES

Fund Promotion

Referral/Consult

100-391697-171) b7D per FBI

Referral/Consult

Fulton Lewis, Jr., advised the Bureau on 10-20-55 that he had a long talk with H. Coleman Andrews, Chief of the Internal Revenue Service, who said that their investigation of the Fund would most assuredly cause the Fund to lose its tax-exempt status; that this could also happen to the Ford Foundation. Lewis used this information on his 10-20-55 broadcast. (100-391697-259)

According to the 11-11-55 issue of the "Washington Post and Times Herald," the Internal Revenue Service is currently reviewing the tax-exempt status of the Fund, which was granted to them on 1-20-54. The article pointed out that the Administration might be embarrassed into taking some action on the Fund's tax status in order to thwart a 1956 Congressional investigation. The article added that Treasury Under Secretary H. Chapman Rose told the House Subcommittee on Information earlier that the Administration would seek legislation next year to require public inspection of all applications for tax-exempt status.



PART I

HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC  
(January 1, 1958, to March 31, 1958)

BACKGROUND (no change)

ORIGIN (no change)

LOCATION (no change)

POLICY AND OBJECTIVES

Tax Exemption

*news commentator*  
Fulton Lewis, Jr., on his broadcast 2/28/58, stated that the Ford Foundation has said in the past that they had no control over the \$15,000,000 grant to the Fund for the Republic and that this grant was made with "no strings attached." He stated he had learned that the Bureau of Internal Revenue Service is currently conducting an investigation into the Fund regarding its tax-exemption status, although to date he knew of no action which has resulted. He continued that on 2/27/58, he came into possession of a copy of the minutes of a meeting of the Ford Foundation, which was held 2/23-26/58, and was concerned with the grant to the Fund for the Republic. Lewis stated that these minutes reflect that if the Fund loses its tax-exempt status, then the Fund must return to the Ford Foundation the balance of any money granted by the Foundation. [Lewis added that if the Bureau of Internal Revenue Service finds that the Fund is not tax-exempt then the money will have to be returned.] (94-4-2109-224)

Fulton Lewis, Jr., in his broadcast on 3/15/58, stated that several influential Senators are preparing speeches to be delivered on the floor of the Senate asking the Internal Revenue Service to take away the tax-exempt status of the Fund as a charitable organization. He said that the Internal Revenue Service started five months ago to look into the Fund. He referred to the Fund as a "political propaganda slush fund," and stated that it should not enjoy a tax-exempt status. (94-4-2109- )

Mr. Nichols by memorandum to Mr. Tolson

Referral/Consult

PART I

HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC (FFR)  
(April 1, 1956, to June 30, 1956)

BACKGROUND (no change)

ORIGIN (no change)

LOCATION (no change)

POLICIES AND OBJECTIVES

Tax Exemption

Referral/Consult

James O'Neill, publisher, "The Legionaire" magazine, advised  
the Bureau on 3-26-56

Referral/Consult

James O'Neill; previously described. advised

(IBID, 380)

## PART I

PISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC (FRR)  
(July 1, 1950 to September 30, 1950)POLICY AND OBJECTIVESInformation

The July 27, 1950, issue of the "Washington Post and Times Herald" newspaper reported that Senator John C. Stennis stated on the floor of the Senate on July 27, 1950, that the FRR had declared that the Communist Party is just another political party, though the Subversive Activities Control Board had called it a subversive organization. He called on the Treasury Department to rectify the tax-exempt status of the Fund. (100-301007-A)

Regarding the above, the "Washington Post and Times Herald" on 8/7/50 reported that Frank E. Kelly, Vice President of the Fund, in a letter 7/27/50 to the United Press took issue with the above charge made by Senator Stennis. Kelly said "the Fund has never - and let me repeat, never - declared that the Communist Party is another political party." It is noted that both Kelly and Senator Stennis are referring to the Fund's annual report 5/31/50 in which Hutchins had said that the cold war had thrown the question of individual freedoms "into unusual disorder. A political party in this country has been identified with the 'enemy.'" Hutchins did not specifically identify the party in question as the Communist Party; however, various writers and commentators explained that he meant the Communist Party. (100-301007-A)

Referral/Consult

James O'Holl, who is in charge of all American Legion publications in New York City, advised the Bureau on 8/22/50 that

Fulton Lewis, Jr. on his broadcast 7-23-56 stated that he had information to the effect that Treasury Department officials have reviewed the Fund's tax-exempt status and that they are in favor of its revocation. (94-4-2163-338)

The "Washington City News Service" on 3-5-56 reported that the American Committee of the American Legion called for Congress and the Secretary of Treasury to revoke the tax-exemption status of the Fund. (61-3176-A)

## PART I

### HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC (FFR) (October 1, to December 31, 1956.)

#### POLICIES AND OBJECTIVES

##### Tax-Exemption

Fulton Lewis, Jr., in his syndicated column of 11-20-56, stated that the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) plans to conduct hearings into the Fund's activities about mid-January, 1957. Its investigators, he claims, have been quietly probing the Fund and have turned up much pertinent material (unspecified).

Referral/Consult

Lewis stated that many returning members of Congress have voiced pointed questions [redacted]

PART I

HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC  
(January 1, 1957 to March 31, 1957)

POLICIES AND OBJECTIVES

Tax-Exemption

Karl Baarslag, Consultant, House Committee on Un-American Activities, advised the Bureau on February 14, 1957, that scheduled hearings regarding the Fund for the Republic will not be held during March but will be held around the middle of April, 1957. This action was necessary due to the inability of the National Commander of the American Legion, W. C. Daniel, to be in Washington during the month of March. (100-391697-259)

## **PART I**

### **HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC (FFR)** **(April 1 to June 30, 1957)**

#### **POLICIES AND OBJECTIVES**

##### **Tax-Exemption**

Fulton Lewis, Jr., in his syndicated column of 6/11/57 stated that tax-exempt foundations which serve as moneybags for numerous left-wing projects are in for painful scrutiny by the most powerful committee in Congress, the House Ways and Means Committee. He said the target will be the "educational" rackets, which piously proclaim the purpose of altruistic enlightenment of the public on so-called constitutional rights, but operate essentially as anti-anti-communist propaganda organizations.

The Committee's approach, Lewis said, is from the taxation angle, and it already has decided to require opening up, for public inspection, of the "statements of purpose and objective" which foundations must file with the Treasury to get tax-exemption in the first place. They are now confidential. This would let the public know what the foundations claim to be doing and whether a foundation is adhering to its professed aims. The next step will be to publicize "informational returns" filed by foundations, which will inform the public as to what tax-free dollars are being spent for.

Lewis stated, a few extreme liberals in the suspect fringe challenge the Committee, notably the Fund for the Republic. Robert Hutchins, the Fund's president, contends that the public has no direct or implied interest in the operations of the Fund. The legitimacy of its intentions must be taken on face value. This contention, Lewis states, is challenged, even satirized. If projects are worthy, there will be no substantial public criticism. If they are not, the public is entitled to know it. (92-4-2163)



PART I

HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC (FRR)  
(July 1, to September 30, 1957)

POLICIES AND OBJECTIVES

On July 10, 1957, Mr. David G. Teeple, a research consultant in Washington, D. C., advised he had written a letter to the FFR asking for a grant-in-aid for research and publication of a book entitled "The Planned Attack on the Federal Bureau of Investigation." He pointed out to the Fund that it was his intention to demonstrate through documentary materials that there has been an organized campaign deliberately designed to undermine the confidence of the American people in the FBI. Teeple received a short reply signed by David F. Freeman, vice president of the FFR, advising that the Fund could not support his project; that they had recently reorganized their activities including fellowships and grants-in-aid programs. Teeple said this reply indicated that the FFR was not interested in any views except those which agreed with the Fund's policies which Teeple characterized as left-wing liberal. (34-44177-12)

The "Washington Post and Times Herald" of September 20, 1957, carried an article on page A-10 captioned "Two Officers Resign Fund for Republic Posts" which reflected that David F. Freeman and Adam Yarnolinsky, both officers of the FFR, had resigned their positions on September 19, 1957, as a result of a policy disagreement with FFR President Robert M. Hutchins.

The article stated it was known "that the Fund has radically changed its approach to American civil liberties. In the past, the Fund has subsidized and encouraged civil liberties projects which already existed. Hutchins....has now decided that the \$5.5 million remaining in the Fund's account should be devoted to an over-all study of 'basic issues' with the Fund originating the projects to be studied." (100-391697-473)

### TAX EXEMPTION

On 8/2/57, Stanley Tracy, former Assistant Director, advised that Don Appel of the House Committee on Un-American Activities has been assigned to look into the FFA. According to Appel, several top people in the investigative field of the Internal Revenue Service are of the opinion that the tax exemption privileges should be taken away from the Fund and their report to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue will so recommend.

Mr. Tracy further advised he learned there is speculation that the FFA is trying to organize two big projects which will last a long time and into which the FFA might contribute their money prior to any ruling by Internal Revenue Service concerning their tax exemption. According to Tracy these projects might be a study of the free enterprise system in the U. S. and a study of organized labor (both are "basic issues" projects). Should these projects fail to be organized prior to an unfavorable ruling on their tax status, the FFA may file suit to have an unfavorable decision overruled.

(100-391697-471)

### DURATION AND EXPENDITURES

On 8-2-57, former Assistant Director Stanley Tracy advised he had learned that the FFA had about eight and one-half million dollars left.

The "Washington Post and Times Herald" of 9-23-57 page A-10 carried an article captioned "Two Officers Design Fund for Republica Posts" which reflected the Fund had \$6.5 million remaining in its account and Fund President Dutchins had decided it should be devoted to an over-all study of "basic issues" with the Fund originating the projects to be studied. (100-391697-473)

## PART I

### HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC (FRR) (Oct. 1, to Dec. 31, 1957)

#### POLICIES AND OBJECTIVES

On Oct. 4, 1957, the Director received a pamphlet entitled "The Free Society" which reflected it was issued by the Fund for the Republic, 60 East 42 Street, New York 17, N. Y. This pamphlet reflected that the FFR "has devoted itself in the last four years to educational efforts in race relations, academic freedom, due process, loyalty-security programs, freedom of speech and assembly, and generally to the preservation of the traditional liberties guaranteed by the Constitution."

"These activities of the Fund helped to initiate a widespread debate about the application of our traditional liberties. In a sense this indicated that the Fund had been meeting one of its objectives - to encourage public discussion about freedom and justice and, thereby, to help maintain our free society. But the real issues often were obscured by emotionalism and irrational arguments."

"It became evident that clarification of the debate was urgently needed. Consequently the Fund's Board of Directors decided, in May, 1957, to concentrate on a searching examination of the questions facing Americans in preserving a free society under 20th century conditions."

"A year's discussion and planning preceded this decision which, in essence, takes cognizance of the fact that the basic issues of freedom and justice in the complex industrial America of today involve more than the traditional issues as formulated in the eighteenth century."

According to this pamphlet, the result of the board's decision was the Fund's Basic Issues Program, (100-3-1057-475)

#### DURATION AND EXPENDITURES

The FFR's pamphlet entitled "The Free Society" which was received on October 4, 1957, reflected on page 15, that as of June 30, 1957, the total amount of money expended by the Fund was approximately 10.5 million. This would leave a balance of approximately 18.5 million which is expected to be spent on the Basic Issues Program. (100-391627-473)

PAGE 2  
REPORT OF INVESTIGATION OF THE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION (FBI)  
(JAN. 1 to March 31, 1953)

CRIMINAL - INCORPORATION

The KCCA report regarding the FFI reflected the FFI was incorporated in the State of N.Y. on Dec. 9, 1952. The names of the original 5 incorporators are set out in the KCCA report and a check of Bureau files reflected information concerning two of them as follows:

[redacted]  
One [redacted] was the subject of a Security Matter - C also investigated by the Bureau in 1949. The case file reflected he was born [redacted] [redacted] Conn. and was the son of [redacted] [redacted] was a member of the Youth Branch and the Yale Students Branch of the CP in 1949. He was also reported to have subscribed to the Daily Worker. In 1947 [redacted] was reportedly active in organizing workers as a Los Haven company plant and reporting results to CP officials. [redacted] graduated from Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn. [redacted] was a lawyer affiliated with a law firm in New York City. He was interviewed by Bureau Agents in Feb. 1953 and stated he was "political" during the period 1945-49, while at Yale Univ., was ashamed of that period of his life, was unable to recall that he was ever a member of the CP and could not recall any other details concerning that period of his life.  
(100-235753)

William C. Colman

One William Colman Colman was the subject of an investigation conducted by the Bureau in 1949 under the European Recovery Program. No derogatory information regarding Colman was developed during the investigation.  
(100-235753)

The original incorporators were replaced following the election of the members-directors who were selected by Robert H. Hutchins.

ITEM - CONTINUATION

According to the LRA report the organization meeting of the FFI was held in N.Y. on Feb. 10, 1953. Paul D. Hoffman, president of the Ford Foundation, attended the meeting along with Robert H. Hutchins, Executive Director of the Ford Foundation. Hoffman suggested to the directors that a planning committee be established to undertake the formulation of a tentative program for the FFI. The planning committee was created under the chairmanship of Dr. Edwin H. Griswold, a member of the board.

The LRA report reflected that conditions were developing within the Ford Foundation which were necessitating a severance of Paul D. Hoffman as its president. On or about Jan. 27, 1953, Hoffman submitted his resignation as president of the Foundation. Prior to his resignation the directors of the FFI had tentatively elected him as Chairman of the FFI board of directors even though he was not even a member of that board. On Jan. 29, 1953, twelve of the FFI directors wrote to Hoffman, as president of the Ford Foundation, a letter which was basically a pitch for additional funds. Hoffman made his plea for additional funds in an amount of between fifteen and twenty-five million dollars, at a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Ford Foundation on Feb. 4, 1953. The money to be appropriated to the FFI was to be decided at a meeting of Foundation trustees to be held Feb. 25-26, 1953.

On Feb. 10, 1953, Hoffman, while still president of the Foundation, even though his resignation had been endorsed, was elected a member-director of the FFI. Immediately following his election to the board, he was elected its chairman. Hoffman advised the FFI directors of the position and feeling of the Foundation trustees toward additional financing of the FFI.

(Pgs 20-21 LRA report)

FINANCIAL AND OPERATIVE

The LRA report of its findings regarding the FFI reflected that LRA had look at fund solicitation which were intended to support or reward an individual or organization. This support or reward... was in the form of awards

(b) (7) - (D)

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On February 17, 1953, [redacted] general counsel for the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) was available to the Bureau, on a confidential basis, [redacted]

[illegible]

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b7C  
b7D

b7D

b7D

Page 2 of the "Washington Daily News" of February 9, 1953, carried an article entitled "Report Urges Fund for Republic Be Stripped of Tax-exempt Status" which reflected that a staff report prepared for the House Committee on Un-American Activities recommended that the Government rescind the tax exemption of the controversial fund for the Republic... The article reflected that the report will be submitted to the Committee in a few weeks and "a majority of the members apparently are prepared to sign it." The article continued, "The report will reveal that 'working level' officials of the Internal Revenue Service challenged the fund's tax-exempt status nearly a year ago and urged that it be revoked." The proposal that the fund's tax exemption be cancelled was



based on charges that it had engaged in many "propaganda" activities. The article stated, "The charges are documented by detailed citations from projects, books and pamphlets the Fund has financed and published." (100-211027-1)

Fulton Lewis Jr. wrote a column captioned "Capital Report - Report by Knock FBI Case of Economic" which appeared on page 10 of the "New York Mirror" of Feb. 23, 1953, and was concerned with the uncollected report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA).

Regarding the HCUA Report Lewis wrote "It finds that everything that was ever charged against the Fund for the Republic - by me, the American Legion, or its host of other critics - was all true and a lot more. It finds so much that it recommends that all tax-exempt status of the Fund be rescinded by the Internal Revenue Service...."

Lewis stated that HCUA Chairman Francis E. Walter was toying with several ideas as to what to do with the report. Lewis made the following suggestions regarding its dissemination: Chairman Walter "can take the report public on his own responsibility, without committee sanction, with a blurb demanding that the Internal Revenue Service take action at once & & turn the report over to the House Ways and Means Committee, which has direct jurisdiction over all tax matters on grounds that the material properly is in its field."

"The House and Senate Committee would never conduct a study of this kind on its own, but inasmuch as the study already has been made, it might well review the factual material as a document, and since it can find conclusions and recommendations."

"It has been keenly sensitive to the tax-exempt status racketeering evil for a long time and the members probably would welcome the opportunity to take an example of the Fund for the Republic, as an all around warning."

(100-211027-2)

The February 10, 1953, issue of "Common Events" reflected that "Sources within the Executive branch...that a move is afoot to amend the internal revenue code as to legitimizing propaganda activities such as the Fund's. Key language in the proposed change - which emanates from within the Treasury Department - reads as follows:

"Organizations embraced within this section include those which are operated primarily for the purpose of bringing

about social changes or for purposes relating to the private rights of individuals and to human relationships generally, and which cannot meet the requirements of section 501 (c) (2)

"The fact that such an organization in carrying out its ordinary purposes or purposes presents opinions on controversial questions and issues with the intention of moulding public opinion or creating public sentiment to an acceptance of its views, or advocating social changes which may require legislation to achieve, will not preclude exemption under section 501 (c)."

"According to those expressed of this suggested changes Robert Hutchins himself couldn't have drafted a proposal more suited to the needs of the beleaguered Fund."

On 8-9-53 Mr. Dick Arena of NCAA advised that the NCAA was preparing a letter to be sent to the Treasury Dept., Internal Revenue Division, which will criticized the FEI and advise that the basis of the criticism can be found in the form of a staff memorandum in NCAA files. This letter will request that the tax-exempt status of the FEI be immediately withdrawn. Arena stated that the NCAA report on the Fund will not be sent to the Treasury Dept. but will be maintained by the NCAA until such time as Treasury specifically asks for it.

On 8-5-53 Jimmy O'Reilly, publisher of "The American Legion Magazine," New York City, advised that Legationaires within the Treasury Dept., Division of Internal Revenue, had confidentially advised him that a decision had already been reached to eliminate the FEI's tax-exempt status. This decision had gone all the way to the top in the Treasury Dept. but had been stopped there prior to any action, so as to give the NCAA sufficient time to issue its report against the FEI. O'Reilly stated the Treasury Dept. is of the opinion the FEI will take this matter to court, therefore necessitating the Treasury Dept. to also up its final decision in order to have an actual instrument (the NCAA report) with enough facts to put up a good court battle.

Referral/Consult

Referral/Consult

On March 20, 1950, Chairman Francis E. Walter of the HCCA made public a letter he sent to the Secretary of the Treasury on March 23, 1950, which pertained to the HCCA investigation of the FFI. Pertinent portions of his letter are as follows:

"The purpose of the inquiry, as I announced at the time I initiated it, has been to determine whether this multi-million-dollar foundation is a friend or foe in America's

battle against Communism. While the facts which have been developed do not establish that the Fund for the Republic is Communist-controlled or influenced, it is clear that the Fund's activities in toto inhibit it as a hindrance in this battle.

"I am making available to you a staff memorandum on the Fund for the Republic analyzing various projects which the Fund has engaged in since its creation. The memorandum is not being made public because some of the material contained therein relates to matters not strictly within the jurisdiction of the Committee, and should not be construed as findings of the Committee itself.

"The contents of the staff memorandum demonstrate that the Fund engages in propaganda and is attempting to influence legislation in violation of Section 501 (c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code. The memorandum documents the lack of objectivity on the part of the Fund for the Republic to qualify it as a bona fide educational or scientific organization within the criteria established by the Code for tax-exempt organizations. While some projects of the Fund for the Republic appear to be objectively presented, the majority of its operations are based on biased investigation and result in findings which not only fail to present both sides of a given question, but even further, actually conceal facts necessary for an honest understanding of the subject matter.

"The program of the Fund for the Republic has been principally one of action and not of education. Among its chief targets have been congressional investigations of Communism, Government security procedures, loyalty oaths and regulation of immigration.

\*\*\*

"...I am confident that an objective appraisal of the activities of the Fund will compel the conclusion -- already made by experts in the Internal Revenue Service -- that the Fund for the Republic's tax-exempt status should be revoked.

"It is essential that the American people no longer be required to give an involuntary subsidy to an organization which, while not directly controlled by the Communist entities of the United States, nevertheless in many instances has provided aid and comfort to them."

CITATION AND EXPLANATION

In his column which appeared in the "New York Mirror" of Feb. 23, 1930, Fulton Lewis Jr. indicated that the FPD had six million dollars remaining of the original grant of \$15 million.

(100-391637-1)

PART I  
HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE  
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC (FFR)  
(April 1, to June 30, 1958)

TAX EXEMPTION

Referral/Consult

Referral/Consult

The Congressional Record for April 29, 1958, pages A9879 and A9890 reflected that Congressman Forrester, (D) Georgia, extended his remarks to include an article written by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt entitled, "Representative Walter is Prejudiced" which appeared in the "Washington News" of

April 16, 1950. In her article, Mrs. Roosevelt stated that Congressman Francis E. Walter was narrow and prejudiced because he dared to suggest that the Treasury Department revoke the tax exemption of the Fund for the Republic. Congressman Forrester stated, "Mr. Speaker, sometimes it seems when a Congressman lifts his voice in defense of the taxpayers, or in defense of constitutional government, or speaks out against unrestricted immigration which has permitted hundreds of Communists to come into this country, not for the purpose of preserving our country but to destroy it, that Congressman is immediately condemned as being narrow and prejudiced." He went on to state, "It is noted, Mr. Speaker, that nowhere does Mrs. Roosevelt attempt to answer charges made by Congressman Walter against the Fund for the Republic, but expresses her hope that we will be able to go on enjoying the benefits that come from educational foundations able to perform the kind of work that the Fund for the Republic has been doing. On March 30, 1950, Congressman Walter released a statement laying down a bill of particulars against the Fund for the Republic." Mr. Forrester included excerpts from Mr. Walter's statement which contained the following: "The fund has also financed attacks, unsupported by competent evidence, upon the loyalty, integrity, intelligence, and mental stability of all confidential informants of the Federal Bureau of Investigation who have testified in public trials or proceedings." (65-1731-1492)

An editorial on page A-10 of the May 5, 1950, issue of the "Washington Post and Times Herald" criticized the Internal Revenue Service for asking the FFE to show cause why its tax-exempt status should not be revoked. The editorial defended the Fund's past activities and declared, "It would be the rankest sort of discrimination - and of political favoritism - to change the tax status of the Fund for the Republic." (100-201607-A)



## LEADERSHIP

### Paul G. Hoffman, Original Head of the Fund

In February, 1953, Hoffman retired as president of the Ford Foundation and was elected chairman of the board of directors of The Fund for the Republic, in which capacity he still serves. He is chairman of the board of the Studebaker-Packard Corporation, Los Angeles, California.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,  
May 31, 1955, p. 5;  
The New York Times,  
February 26, 1953

Hoffman has been described as "displaying complete naivete in recognition of the Communist menace in the United States" by Alfred M. Kohlberg, chairman of the American Jewish League Against Communism, New York City. Kohlberg said he first knew Hoffman in 1941-42 when Hoffman was raising funds for the American Bureau for Medical Aid to China, United China Relief and other organizations.

From 1943 until 1948, Hoffman was a member of the board of trustees of the American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR). \*

Hoffman contributed \$100 annually to the IPR from 1943 through 1947 and was reported to be fairly active in getting others to contribute to IPR.

\*See Appendix for citation.

~~SECRET~~

In February, 1949, Hoffman, then administrator of the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA), urged Congress to eliminate provisions in the Government's loyalty program which required certification that no ECA employees had formerly been members of any organizations cited by the Attorney General.

Hoffman termed such certification "silly" and "unsound," as it barred employment of "very good people." The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, however, declined to relax the loyalty requirements in the operation of the European Recovery Program.

The New York Times,  
March 2, 1949

Clifford P. Case, First President of the Fund

In May, 1953, Case, then a Congressman from New Jersey, was elected president and a director of The Fund for the Republic. He relinquished his congressional seat and took office in August, 1953. In April, 1954, Case resigned as president when he announced his candidacy for United States Senator.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,  
May 31, 1955, p. 10;  
The New York Times, May 27, 1953;  
March 8, 1954

Robert M. Hutchins, Current President of the Fund

In June, 1954, Hutchins succeeded Case as president of The Fund for the Republic. Hutchins had served as president and as chancellor of the University of Chicago until 1951 when he joined the Ford Foundation as an associate director. He resigned the latter post on becoming president of the Fund. He is also a member of the board of directors of the Fund.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,  
May 31, 1955, p. 10;  
The New York Times, May 25, 1954.

Fulton Lewis, Jr., in a radio broadcast on August 29, 1955, asserted that since Hutchins has primary responsibility for and practical control of allocation of the Fund's money, his views and policies are necessarily reflected in this distribution.

In April, 1949, Hutchins testified before the Illinois Seditious Activities Investigation Commission, then investigating alleged Communist activities at the University of Chicago. He testified that he knew nothing about the Communist Party except what he had read; that he was not satisfied that the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions\* was a Communist front organization even though it had been cited as such by the

\*See Appendix for citation.

House Committee on Un-American Activities; that he did not consider the Communist Party in the United States to constitute a clear and present danger to the internal security of the country; and that he did not favor the enactment of legislation which would illegalize the Party.

Hutchins was questioned about Oscar Lange, former professor of economics at the University of Chicago. Lange had come to the United States in the 1930's, become a naturalized citizen but, following World War II, renounced his American citizenship to resume Polish citizenship, later serving as Poland's representative to the United Nations. Hutchins testified that Lange was officially listed as on leave of absence from the University; that he was not acquainted with Lange's present views but if Lange's views were what they were when he went on his leave of absence, he would be welcomed back.

Illinois Seditious Activities Investigation  
Commission. Report of Proceedings.  
Investigation of University of Chicago and  
Roosevelt College. 1949

In commenting on the Mundt-Nixon bill, some sections of which were later incorporated into the Internal Security Act of 1950, Hutchins, in April, 1950, characterized it as "foolish, stupid, and dangerous" and expressed the hope that Congress would defeat the measure.

Daily People's World, \* April 17, 1950

\* A west coast Communist newspaper

Hutchins was invited, but declined an invitation tendered by Oscar Lange to attend the Soviet-sponsored World Economic Conference held in Moscow in 1951.

The New York Times, December 27, 1951

Following the decision of the United States Supreme Court on June 4, 1951, upholding the constitutionality of the Smith Act, \* Hutchins was quoted as saying that the majority decision "indicates that we are at last up against a crisis in this country." He said that "it may now become more difficult for us to take some of the positions we have in the past," adding that "We may even have to decide whether we must violate the law in order to remain in conformity with our convictions."

Daily Worker, \*\*June 25, 1951

In July, 1952, Hutchins expressed opposition to the universal military training program in the United States, claiming that no other nation would believe that this country had to have such training to protect it from attack; therefore, the nation must want such military training in order to attack somebody else.

Pamphlet distributed by National Council  
Against Conscription,

\*Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 2385 (1948 Edition), popularly known as the Smith Act, makes it unlawful for anyone to knowingly teach and advocate the duty and necessity of overthrowing and destroying the Government of the United States by force and violence. The Act was passed by Congress in 1940. Eighty-eight Communist leaders have been tried and convicted under this Act since 1949; 37 have been indicted and are awaiting trial.

\*\*An east coast Communist newspaper.

In December, 1952, he denounced the activities of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, protesting the "spread of censorship."

In June, 1953, he branded the California State Senate Investigating Committee on Education as "subversive and un-American" and urged its repudiation, stating that "never before... has an official agency explicitly attacked freedom of thought and freedom of speech" as the Committee had done.

Daily People's World, December 15, 1952;  
The Washington Post, June 12, 1953

In December, 1953, Hutchins delivered a lecture in Beverly Hills, California, in which he characterized congressional committees investigating Communists and Fascists as being run by a bunch of "characters"; declared that he did not believe in any kind of loyalty oath for school teachers or professors and regarded such measures as "nothing more than threats and intimidation against one's character"; denounced Cardinal Spellman's speech in Europe a month earlier in which the churchman said that no one in America was being hurt by congressional investigations; advocated the admission of Communist China to the United Nations; and contended that Attorney General Brownell's views on wire-tapping and proposed changes in the Fifth Amendment were in direct violation of the Constitution.

In this lecture, Hutchins said: "Today we are cursed by a tremendous glorification of the FBI. The only people we will believe are confessed spies and traitors. . . ."

As for outlawing the Communist Party, Hutchins contended that he would take the opposite course and remove all limitations upon Communists. "I would catch and punish criminals," he said. "I would not condemn a man because he belonged to an organization. The Communist Party may be in the hands of the Kremlin but it does not follow that everyone in the Communist Party is a part of a conspiracy."

"I don't believe that spying accelerated by thirty days the development of the atomic bomb in Russia," he said. "All the theoretical material on the release of atomic energy was published in the 'Encyclopaedia Britannica' in 1936."

He stated further in this speech: "I do not feel that the Communist party is as dangerous as professed. Some people take it for granted that just because a person is a member of the Communist party, he is dangerous. This is not true."

"For example, in the state of Washington, most of the professors at the state university, when under investigation, proved to be some of the weakest and most sheepish men I have ever heard of."

Southern California Daily Trojan,  
December 3, 1953;  
Daily People's World, December 9, 1953

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A press release indicated that a bound volume of scrolls would be presented to Dr. Harold C. Urey, Nobel prize winner, at a testimonial dinner to be held in his honor on February 12, 1955, under auspices of the Chicago Sobell Committee. The scrolls praised Dr. Urey for his contributions as a citizen, and for his protests in the Rosenberg and Sobell cases. Hutchins was listed among the signers of the scrolls.

The Chicago Sobell Committee is an offshoot of the National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, which was formed in January, 1952, to raise funds for the defense of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who were convicted, together with Morton Sobell, in March, 1951, of conspiracy to commit espionage. The Rosenbergs were executed; Sobell is now serving a thirty-year prison sentence.

In a speech in April, 1955, Hutchins declared that he had recently attended a dinner of senior faculty members of the University of Birmingham in England. "I sat across the table from a professor who was a member of the executive committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain," he said. "The British appear to be getting value out of a scholar whom none of the great American universities could appoint."

Daily Worker, April 4, 1955



On September 11, 1955, Seaborn P. Collins, National Commander of The American Legion, called on all members to "have no truck" with activities sponsored by The Fund for the Republic because it appears that the Fund is "threatening and may succeed in crippling the national security." Collins accused the Fund of "constant, loaded criticism of congressional and Administration efforts to resist Communist infiltration."

The Washington Post and Times Herald,  
September 12, 1955.

On September 15, 1955, the board of directors of the Fund, which included Hutchins, issued a reply to Collins' criticism. The statement said, among other things, that from "the beginning the Board has held that the major factor affecting civil liberties today is the menace of communism and communist influence in this country." The sentiment expressed in this portion of the statement, however, is in marked variance with the public statements made by Hutchins in which he has minimized the threat of Communism in the United States.

Press Release of The Fund for the  
Republic, September 15, 1955

In an address on October 7, 1955, Hutchins stated that he could only conclude that those who fear impartial investigation of the loyalty-security programs are afraid of the truth. He said: "The positions they have taken and the reputations they have built are interwoven with those programs.

Such people do not want the system looked into, because they fear it may be found defective, and their attitudes and reputations may appear defective, too."

The Evening Star (Washington, D. C.),  
October 8, 1955

A number of statements made by Hutchins on national issues have been published and distributed by Communist front organizations. Some examples of this have been the distribution in May, 1950, by the Philadelphia Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill\* of his statement against the Mundt-Nixon bill; and the playing at a meeting of a Communist front group in 1954 of a tape recording of one of the speeches made by Hutchins criticizing the Dilworth Law, which required loyalty oaths from California teachers.

Hallock Hoffman, Assistant to the President\*\*

Hoffman expressed himself as opposing loyalty oath propositions on the ballot in California in August, 1953. In an advertisement,

\*See Appendix for citation.

\*\*Source: Report of The Fund for the Republic, May 31, 1955, p. 6.

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which was in the nature of an open letter to State Senator Nelson S. Dilworth, Hoffman complained because his name was not included among those cited as opposed to loyalty oaths. "Such laws are the instruments of dictatorship," he said, and always are "used to enforce conformity and broadcast fear." Hoffman protested because the Dilworth Committee on Education had not listed the many thousands of citizens who opposed the "non-disloyalty oaths."

Daily People's World, August 4, 1953

A press release reflected that Hoffman was one of the signers of a bound volume of scrolls which was to be presented to Dr. Harold C. Urey, Nobel prize winner, at a testimonial dinner to be held in his honor on February 12, 1955, under auspices of the Chicago Sobell Committee. The scrolls praised Dr. Urey for his contributions as a citizen, and his protests in the Rosenberg and Sobell case.

Wilbur H. Ferry, Vice-President\*

Ferry was appointed chief of press relations for the CIO Political Action Committee in June, 1944. According to a 1944 report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, immediately prior to the setting up of the CIO Political Action Committee, the leaders of the Communist Party were

\*Source: Report of The Fund for the Republic, May 31, 1955, p. 6.

agitating for the establishment of just such an agency as was created by the CIO executive board in July, 1943. The report said that the CIO executive board which established the Political Action Committee was composed of 49 members, among whom there were at least 18 whose records indicated that they followed the "line" of the Communist Party with undeviating loyalty; and a majority of the international unions affiliated with the CIO had an entrenched Communist leadership.

The CIO News, June 19, 1944;  
U. S. Congress, House. Special  
Committee on Un-American Activities.  
Report on the CIO Political Action  
Committee. House Report 1311.  
78th Congress, 2nd Session.  
(Washington: Government Printing  
Office, 1944).

During 1944-1945, Ferry was reported to be friendly with the national officers of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (JAFRC).<sup>\*</sup> In early 1945, he was also reported to be a member of a group of publicity men who assisted JAFRC officials in a national fund-raising campaign.

Amos Landman, now engaged in part-time public relations work for the Fund, declined in 1954 to answer questions before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security concerning his alleged former membership in the Communist Party. Ferry was quoted early in October, 1955, as saying that

<sup>\*</sup> See Appendix for citation.

Landman's refusal to testify to his past activities "did not appear to the officers (of the Fund) sufficient reason to bar him from temporary employment."

The Washington Post and Times Herald,  
October 14, 1955

Other officers are:

David F. Freeman, Secretary and Treasurer\*

Winifred G. Meskus, Assistant Secretary\*

Thomas J. Gardner, Assistant Treasurer\*

Bethuel M. Webster, Counsel\*

\* Amos Landman, Staff Member\*\*

The Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security on June 30, 1955, stated that Amos Landman had subscribed to an affidavit sworn to before a State Department consular officer on September 15, 1953, which reads as follows: "I became a member of the Communist Party in 1937 or 1938. I am not sure. It will be recalled that this was the time of the great Depression, a time when many of us were looking desperately for solutions to the problems

\*Source: Report of The Fund for the Republic, May 31, 1955, p. 6.

\*\*Source: The Washington Post and Times Herald, October 14, 1955.

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then confronting the United States and the world." This was at the time he was in India making a study of mass media as a result of a grant from the Ford Foundation. When asked by the Subcommittee whether he had ever been a member of the Communist Party, Landman invoked the Fifth Amendment.

U. S. Congress, Senate. Subcommittee  
on Internal Security of the Committee  
on the Judiciary.  
Report of Proceedings in Communist  
Newspaper Cells, June 30, 1955

In the early 1940's, Landman was reported to be among the Communist leadership of the Newspaper Guild.\*

Winston M. Burdett, Columbia Broadcasting System correspondent, admitted his previous membership in the Communist Party in testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security on June 29, 1955. Burdett declared that Landman had been a Communist subsequent to 1937 and prior to 1942.

The New York Times, June 30, 1955

On July 27, 1955, Landman began temporary employment with the Fund in a public relations capacity.

The Washington Post and Times Herald,  
October 14, 1955

\*American Newspaper Guild - CIO.

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Joseph P. Lyford, Staff Member\*

The Boston Globe for January 15, 1941, reported that a group of Harvard undergraduates was organizing a large delegation to join the American Youth Congress\*\* in a "Peace Pilgrimage" to Washington, D. C., on February 7-9, 1941. Joseph P. Lyford was listed among those prominent in the group.

The Harvard Progressive for April, 1941, listed Lyford as its editor. It was the official publication of the Harvard Student Union, a chapter of the American Student Union. \*\*

Adam Yarmolinsky, Staff Member\*\*\*

Yarmolinsky's father, Avrahm, was a member of the board of directors of the American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union\*\* in 1936.

Another Government agency in 1954 reported that Yarmolinsky's mother, Babette Deutsch, was at one time a contributor to New Masses. \*\*

\*Source: Report of The Fund for the Republic, May 31, 1955, p. 6.

\*\*See Appendix for citation.

\*\*\*Source: New York Herald Tribune, October 10, 1955.

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The same agency reported that Babette Deutsch had participated in the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy\* and that she and Yarmolinsky's father had signed petitions sponsored by the John Reed Club. \*

In December, 1944, Yarmolinsky, in applying for a position with the Federal Government, made the statement that he had resigned from the Harvard Student Union\* in 1940 when he discovered it was Communist-dominated and that he attended the American Youth Congress\* in June or July, 1941, as a hostile observer.

Yarmolinsky was the editor of Case Studies in Personnel Security which was written as a result of a project financed by The Fund for the Republic.

Edward Reed is another staff member. \*\*

Robert E. Cushman, Consultant\*\*

A letter dated December 19, 1941, addressed to the Governor of Oklahoma from the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom\*

\*See Appendix for citation.

\*\*Source: Report of The Fund for the Republic, May 31, 1955, pp. 6, 36.



contained the signatures of individuals who protested the criminal syndicalism cases involving Communists in Oklahoma. Among the signatures was that of Cushman.

In speeches and in writings since 1940, Cushman has been critical of congressional investigating committees and the loyalty-security program.

Missouri Bar Journal, October, 1940;  
Public Administration Review, Autumn, 1943;  
Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, March,  
1949

During June, 1953, Cushman was reported to be the recipient of the Lawyers Guild Review, quarterly publication of the National Lawyers' Guild.\*

Elmer H. Davis, Consultant\*\*

Davis was president of the Authors' League of America (ALA) in 1939-1941. A governmental agency conducting personnel and security-type investigations has reported that the ALA was Communist-infiltrated and that some of its members were known to belong to the Communist Party.

In his book, But We Were Born Free, published in 1953, Davis criticized congressional investigating committees.

Elmer Davis, But We Were Born Free.  
(Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1953)

\*See Appendix for citation.

\*\*Source: Report of The Fund for the Republic, May 31, 1955, p. 36.

Frank S. Loescher, Consultant\*

A letter dated December 19, 1941, of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom\*\* to the Governor of Oklahoma, protested the prosecution of Communist Party members who were tried in the State Criminal Syndicalism trials in Oklahoma City. The letter contained signatures of individuals sponsoring the letter. Among the signatures appeared the name of Frank Loescher.

In July, 1948, Loescher was among the members of the coordinating committee of the organization known as the Campaign to Resist Military Segregation. This organization was formed to induce persons subject to selective service to refuse to register unless racial discrimination and segregation in the armed forces were barred.

Walter Millis, Consultant\*

Millis is a former editorial writer and columnist for the New York Herald Tribune.

He was a member of the board of trustees of the Hawaiian group of the Institute of Pacific Relations\*\* in 1935-1936 and a member of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations in 1937 and 1938.

\*Source: Report of The Fund for the Republic, May 31, 1955, p. 36.

\*\* See Appendix for citation.

In the Fall of 1955, Millis denounced the Federal security system in a radio broadcast and in a magazine article.

Daily Worker, September 13, 1955;  
Article from The Saturday Review reprinted in  
St. Louis Post Dispatch, September 20, 1955

Millis was scheduled to be one of the speakers at a national conference in New York City on October 15, 1955, dealing with "Loyalty-Security and the Laws," under auspices of the National Lawyers' Guild.\*

Daily Worker, October 11, 1955

Benjamin D. Segal, Consultant\*\*

Segal was described in 1946 by another Government intelligence agency as a former organizer for the Socialist Party.

In 1951, Segal was a member of the National Religious and Labor Foundation (NRLF). The NRLF was founded in 1932 by Jerome Davis, then a professor at Yale, who was described by a former high-ranking Communist Party official as a member of the Communist Party during the 1930's. Davis was succeeded as executive secretary of the NRLF in 1933 by Willard Uphaus, who has been described as a Communist sympathizer and pro-Russian.

\*See Appendix for citation.

\*\*Source: Report of The Fund for the Republic, May 31, 1955, p. 36.

Other consultants are Howard L. Chernoff\* and George W.

Overton.\*

George N. Shuster, Vice-Chairman of Board of Directors\*

He is president of Hunter College, New York City.

Harry S. Ashmore, Member of Board of Directors\*

He is executive editor of the Arkansas Gazette in Little Rock, Arkansas. It was alleged in November, 1953, that editorials in the Arkansas Gazette frequently attacked congressional security investigations and that articles in the paper were critical of Government investigating agencies.

It is not known how much time Ashmore will devote to The Fund for the Republic inasmuch as he took leave of absence from his paper in October, 1955, to serve as an assistant to Adlai Stevenson for the publicly announced purpose of helping to formulate the issues for the 1956 presidential campaign.

\*Source: Report of The Fund for the Republic, May 31, 1955, pp. 5, 36.

Chester Bowles, Member of Board of Directors\*

He is a former Governor of Connecticut. In 1946, it was reported that Chester Bowles had recently become affiliated with the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions.\*\*

PM for November 13, 1947, quoted Bowles as having stated the Communists could never be a national threat to American democracy if liberal, economic and social reforms were carried out. According to PM, Bowles condemned what he called the "obsession with American Communism."

Arthur H. Dean, Member of Board of Directors\*\*\*

He is an attorney in New York City.

Dean was a member of the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR)\*\* from 1939 to 1953. From 1946 to 1950 he served as a member of the board of trustees and as a vice-chairman of the American Council of the IPR. In

\*Source: Report of The Fund for the Republic, May 31, 1955, p. 5.

\*\*See Appendix for citation.

\*\*\*The Washington Post and Times Herald issue of October 27, 1955, reflected that Arthur Dean, resigned from the board of directors.

1952, he resigned as international chairman of the IPR. During the period 1939 to December, 1951, he contributed over \$8,000 to the IPR.

Erwin N. Griswold, Member of Board of Directors\*

He is dean of the Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

In April, 1948, 45 law school teachers appealed to the House Committee on Un-American Activities to grant a fair trial to Dr. Edward U. Condon, director of the National Bureau of Standards, whom the committee had accused of being a "weak link" in the Nation's atomic security. These teachers made known their request in a letter addressed to the chairman of the committee which was made public by the American Civil Liberties Union. Griswold was one of the signers of this letter.

New York Herald Tribune, April 19, 1948

The Boston Herald for March 5, 1951, contained an article indicating that Harvard University had been urged by Samuel P. Sears, president of the Massachusetts Bar Association, to stop "encouraging and playing host to the Communist Party." According to the article, Sears directed a letter to Griswold, dean of the Harvard Law School, protesting the University's attitude of tolerance toward enemies of the Nation and demanded the dissolution

\*Source: Report of The Fund for the Republic, May 31, 1955, p. 5.

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of the Harvard Lawyers Guild, an affiliate of the National Lawyers Guild.\*

On March 6, 1951, the Boston Herald carried an article in which Griswold answered Sears' letter. Griswold said that the Harvard Law School would take no action toward suppressing the Harvard Lawyers' Guild. Griswold concluded by saying he felt it would be improper to interfere with the legitimate freedom of Harvard students to take any action towards suppressing the activities of the Harvard Lawyers' Guild.

In his column on July 14, 1955, George E. Sokolsky stated that it had been suggested that Griswold be appointed as chairman of a committee to study the Government's security system. According to Sokolsky, Griswold's book on the Fifth Amendment established him as more concerned with the private economics and fears of those who erred than with the security of his country. Sokolsky stated, "It would be as incorrect to appoint such a man as Dean Griswold to head a fact-finding commission because of his prejudice as it would be to appoint, let us say, Gerald L. K. Smith on the other side of the fence. What is required of such a commission is objectivity, not prejudgment often based on bias."

New York Journal-American,  
July 14, 1955

\*See Appendix for citation.

In his book, The Fifth Amendment Today, Griswold was extremely critical of congressional committees investigating Communists.

Erwin N. Griswold, The Fifth Amendment Today. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955)

The New York Times on August 25, 1955, reported that Griswold and Tracy E. Griffin, of Seattle, Washington, a member of a special committee of the American Bar Association to study Communist tactics, strategy and objectives, debated on the subject of "Lawyers and the Fifth Amendment." Griffin asserted that Griswold's book, The Fifth Amendment Today, "is now relied upon by the Fifth Amendment Communists, fellow travelers, pseudo-liberals and international one-worlders as though it constituted a gold-leaf edition of the Communist Manifesto."

George Sokolsky's column of August 30, 1955, was a criticism of the publications being distributed by the Fund. Sokolsky stated that the Fund had distributed 35,000 copies of The Fifth Amendment Today. According to Sokolsky, this book and others distributed by the Fund were "anti-FBI, anti-Congressional committees investigating subversives."

New York Journal-American,  
August 30, 1955

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A press release issued April 29, 1948, by the Committee of One Thousand, \* New York City, indicated that a group of 140 noted educators, clergymen, artists, professional and business people condemned the House Committee on Un-American Activities for its treatment of Dr. Edward U. Condon and called for the committee's abolition because it "directly menaces freedom of conscience and expression." Among the names of individuals who deplored the committee's activities was Griswold's.

In September, 1948, the wife of a Seattle, Washington, attorney advised that during a previous exchange of correspondence with Griswold he indicated he was sympathetic with Alger Hiss.

During the first Alger Hiss perjury trial in 1949 in New York City, Griswold conferred with a group of people in the corridor of the courthouse, which included Mr. and Mrs. Alger Hiss.

In June, 1951, Griswold characterized a loyalty investigation of an applicant for a Government position as "ridiculous, completely unnecessary, and a tremendous waste of manpower."

M. Albert Linton, Member of Board of Directors\*\*

He is chairman of the board of the Provident Mutual Life Insurance Company, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

\* See Appendix for citation.

\*\* Source: Report of The Fund for the Republic, May 31, 1955, p. 5

Linton was reported to be critical of the hearings conducted in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1953 by the House Committee on Un-American Activities on Communism in the public schools.

The Case Against the School Board.  
Published by the Teachers Union of  
Philadelphia, 1955

A throwaway entitled "Act Today--Tomorrow May Be Too Late, " issued in February, 1947, by the Break with Conscription Committee, which urged writing letters to Congressmen opposing peace-time conscription, listed some prominent persons who were opposed to peace-time military training. Linton was among those named.

John Lord O'Brian, Member of Board of Directors\*

He is a Washington, D. C., attorney.

In January, 1948, O'Brian made an address before the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, in which he discussed loyalty tests as a threat to the American constitutional theory of the rights of the individual. O'Brian criticized the loyalty program and certain phases of its administration.

The New York Times, January 24, 1948

In a lecture at Harvard University in early 1955, O'Brian warned that the Nation's obsession with security was creating "an atmosphere hostile

\*Source: Report of The Fund for the Republic, May 31, 1955, p. 5.

to our traditional freedom of ideas and which threatens ... the American sense of fair play," and that many basic constitutional rights have been seriously impaired.

Life, May 30, 1955

In 1938, O'Brian was a member of the Committee on Labor, Employment and Social Security of the National Lawyers' Guild.\*

Robert E. Sherwood, Member of Board of Directors\*\*

He is a playwright.

Sherwood was one of the signers of a statement presented by the National Institute of Arts and Letters\* in 1948 denouncing the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Daily People's World,  
February 27, 1948

The Daily People's World for November 20, 1952, reflects that one Robert Sherwood was a member of the Civil Rights Congress.\*

In a speech in April, 1955, Sherwood severely criticized the administration's security program as a "heartless, soulless, callous tyranny."

The Washington Post and Times Herald,  
April 29, 1955

\*See Appendix for citation.

\*\*Source: Report of The Fund for the Republic, May 31, 1955, p. 5.

Following a four-day trip to Yugoslavia, Sherwood wrote a brief article on his experiences which appeared in the Yugoslav Review for May-June, 1955. He wrote: "If I had previously harbored any notions that Yugoslavia might be a drearily regimented, totalitarian, authoritarian police state, I discarded such notions when I observed the unquenchable capacity of the Yugoslavia people, including government officials, for cracking jokes."

In 1941, Sherwood contributed to a fund being raised by the New York Conference for Inalienable Rights\* for the legal defense of Clifford T. McAvoy, its vice-president.

Associate Justice Robert H. Jackson, of the United States Supreme Court, on April 28, 1950, received a telegram signed by producers, directors, actors, writers, musicians and agents of the motion picture industry expressing regret that the Supreme Court declined to review the appeal of the "Hollywood Ten." Included in this list was Sherwood.

As a result of hearings conducted in the Fall of 1947 by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, nine Hollywood screen writers and one director were cited for contempt for refusing to answer questions as to

\*See Appendix for citation.

their alleged Communist Party membership. All ten were later indicted by a Federal grand jury for contempt of Congress.

James D. Zellerbach, Member of Board of Directors\*

He is president of the Crown Zellerbach Corporation, San Francisco, California.

Zellerbach, through the Crown Zellerbach Corporation, contributed \$100 monthly to the California Labor School\*\* from July, 1944, until August, 1945, when he became aware of the Communist nature of the school.

He was a contributor to the Institute of Pacific Relations\*\* in 1944, a candidate for election to its board of trustees in 1947, and a member of its board of trustees in 1948.

Zellerbach's wife and his brother, Harold Zellerbach, donated small amounts on one occasion in 1944-1945 to the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. \*\*

In 1953, Zellerbach was a member of the Citizens Committee to Protect Rincon Annex Murals. The murals had been painted on the walls of the Rincon Annex Post Office in San Francisco, California, by Anton Refregier,

\*Source: Report of The Fund for the Republic, May 31, 1955, p. 5.

\*\*See Appendix for citation.

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described as a well-known painter of Communist sympathies. The paintings were said to epitomize the baser, violent periods of California's history.

Other members of the present board of directors are:

Charles W. Cole	President, Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts*
Russell L. Dearmont	Attorney, St. Louis, Missouri*
William H. Joyce, Jr.	Chairman of the Board, Joyce, Inc., Pasadena, California*
Meyer Kestnbaum	President, Hart, Schaffner & Marx, Chicago, Illinois*
Jubal R. Parten	President, Woodley Petroleum Company, Houston, Texas*
Elmo Roper	Head, Elmo Roper Associates, New York City*
Mrs. Eleanor Bumstead Stevenson	Wife of president of Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio*

Malcolm Bryan, Former Member of Board of Directors\*\*

He is president of the Federal Reserve Bank, Atlanta, Georgia.

A source of unknown reliability, who was a friend of Bryan, advised that when Bryan was about eighteen years of age, he absorbed Karl Marx and

\*Source: Report of The Fund for the Republic, May 31, 1955, p. 5.

\*\*Source: The New York Times, December 13, 1952.

other such authors "like a sponge." He was once asked by this source if he was a Communist, to which he replied that he was a "Fabian Socialist." Bryan stated in his student days that socialism was on its way and that "we might as well get on the band wagon."

Other former members of the board of directors are:

James F. Brownlee

Partner, J. H. Whitney and  
Company, New York City\*

Huntington Cairns

Attorney, Washington, D. C.\*

Richard J. Finnegan (Deceased)

Consulting Editor,  
The Chicago Sun-Times\*

\*Source: The New York Times, December 13, 1952;  
Report of The Fund for the Republic, May 31, 1955, p. 5.

PART II

LEADERSHIP IN THE FUND (September 10, 1955, to January 1, 1956)

OFFICERS

Robert H. Hutchins, President ✓

✓ Hutchins at a news conference on 11-7-55 stated that "The Communist Party is a danger to the United States," but would still give a Communist a job. He added, "I wouldn't hesitate to hire a Communist for a job he was well qualified to do, provided I was in a position to see that he did it." He said that he knew of no such employee presently on the Fund's payroll.

✓ During this news conference Hutchins defended the Fund's hiring of Amos Landman as a part-time publicity man last July even though Landman had pleaded the Fifth Amendment when questioned by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee about Communist Party (CP) membership. According to Hutchins, Landman left the Fund on November 1, 1955. When asked by reporters if it were not an affront to the American people to hire Landman, Hutchins replied: "Not at all. The Fifth Amendment is a part of the Bill of Rights." Hutchins added further that Landman had left the CP in 1952. (100-301697-204; 11-3-55 "Washington News"; 11-8-55 "Washington Post and Times Herald")

✓ On 11-23-55 Hutchins appeared on the TV program, "Test the Truth." At the outset, he was reminded of the recent criticisms of the Fund by the American Legion, to which Hutchins stated he believed that Communism was a serious menace to civil liberties in the United States. He added that the Fund was dedicated to justice and freedom and claimed that the Fund wanted to make the Bill of Rights a living document and denied charges that it was either soft on Communism or trying to undermine security programs.

✓ There followed a rather extensive discussion of whether Hutchins would hire a known Communist. Hutchins did not commit himself on this subject. He was evasive and refused to give a straight answer. He claimed that each case must rest on its individual merits; that is, whether the applicant had abilities desired by the Fund, the degree of culpability and association as connected with membership in the CP. (100-301697-205; 100-301697-A; 11-21-55 issue of "Washington Star," "Washington Post and Times Herald," and "Washington News.")



Considerable critical comments were subsequently made by various columnists and commentators concerning Hutchins' appearance on "Meet the Press," set forth as follows:

Fulton Lewis, Jr., on his broadcast of 11-21-55 said that Hutchins dodged, evaded, and double talked, and managed to insult the intelligence of the reporters on the panel and the audience. Lewis stated that Hutchins in a crafty twist of words tried to make his audience believe that several recent developments in the Government were the result of projects of the Fund and that Hutchins never would come out with a direct answer to the question whether he would refuse to hire a Communist. Lewis added that Hutchins' performance on the program was the worst perpetrated on the public. (94-4-2169-242)

The 11-22-55 issue of the "New York Daily News" contained an editorial which stated, in commenting on Hutchins' refusal to state whether he would hire a Communist, that the main question about a prospective employee of an outfit which, like the Fund, claims to fight Communism, is: "Can you trust him to do the job he will be told to do? Obviously, you can't trust a Communist to fight Communism. Maybe the head-in-the-clouds thinking exhibited by Dr. Hutchins on this point helps to explain why the good doctor gets the Fund for the Republic onto such hot spots." (100-391697-A)

An editorial appearing in the 11-23-55 "New York Journal American" stated that Hutchins "played another of his fuzzy anti-anti-Communist records .... he came up with some remarkable views on Communists and Communism, among which was this collector's item: 'I don't know whether Earl Browder is a Communist or not. I assume that he is.' " The editorial then commented on Browder's past record as a Communist and added: "Hutchins isn't yet convinced that Browder is a Communist although his name has been a Red hallmark for 35 years." The editorial concluded with, "This is the man now in charge of dispensing the Fund's tax-free millions to, among others, a coterie of left-wingers, Fifth Amendment pleaders, and unabashed pro-Communists." (100-391697-A)

George Sokolsky in his column 11-28-55 stated that he has reached the following conclusions concerning Hutchins: "(1) That Hutchins is vitally interested in civil liberties but has not thought out the subject philosophically; (2) On the subject of Communism Hutchins displays a lack of knowledge which would indicate that he has not taken the time to do his homework." (100-391697-A; "Washington Post and Times Herald" 11-28-55)

✓ The "American Legion Magazine," October, 1955, issue contains an editorial entitled "What's Wrong with America," which quotes portions of a speech made by Hutchins before a gathering of newspaper editors in Washington, D. C., a few weeks earlier. Pertinent portions of this speech are set forth as follows:

✓ "You have filled the air with warnings of the sinister figures on the Left, but have printed almost nothing about the fat cats on the Right. You have allowed things to get to such a pass that some governmental departments now have guidance clinics in which the employee is taught how not to look like a security risk. Look at the Passport Division, interfering with the travel of Americans on their lawful occasions; at the Attorney General's list, ruining the lives of thousands on the basis of hearsay; at the Post Office Department, saving us from Proba and Aristophanes; at the State Department, adding the name of Corsi to those of Davies and Service and countless others. See the blacklist spreading in industry, merging with proposals that American Communists should be starved to death. Listen to the wire tapping, to the cry of the Fifth Amendment Communist, to the kept witnesses rearing the land..."

✓ The editorial states that in view of the foregoing remarks by Hutchins, it is frightening to realize that a man like Hutchins is handed \$15,000,000 to spend pretty much as he sees fit. It states further that one can get some idea of how much brainwashing Hutchins can accomplish with that money spent in advertising by spreading it among like-minded "experts" in the academic-propaganda field. (100-331637-100)

The November 27, 1955, issue of "The Sunday Star" reported that the directors of the Ford Foundation voted at a meeting earlier in the week that they have "complete confidence in Dr. Hutchins" to carry out the assignments of the Fund. (100-331637-A)

The 11-13-55 issue of the "National Review" contains an editorial by William F. Buckley, Jr., which states in part that some day "Mr. Hutchins will reflect, without pride, on his stewardship of the Fund for the Republic, which day by day, in every way, grows more insolent, more and more hysterical, more and more irresponsible."

The Bureau received information from a source of unknown reliability on 11-28-55 that Hutchins' contract with the Fund expires on 12-1-55 and will not be renewed. No further information has been received in this matter. (100-331637-502)

Wilbur H. Ferry, Vice President ✓

Fulton Lewis, Jr., in his broadcast on 10-17-55 stated that Ferry got his "left-wing political schooling" in his role as Public Relations Director of the CIO Political Action Committee in the days when Sydney Hillman, Lee Pressman, John Abt, and William Cannington were running it. (94-4-2180-217)

✓ It has been reliably reported that at a meeting on 10-25-55 the Council for Personal Freedom, New York City, approved a memorandum presented by Sam Coleman, New York CP functionary, who also directed the meeting. The memorandum advocates a necessity for broadening the fight against the spread of "McCarthyism" in the United States as expressed by the curtailing of the liberties of all Americans. The memorandum also charged that the rights of Americans were being increasingly restricted by the action of five different governmental committees and that these groups particularly affected were the mass organizations, the trade unions, and the CP members. The memorandum also charged the FBI with the tapping of thousands of telephones and states that thousands of individuals are regularly losing jobs by the "visitation of the FBI to manufacturing plants all over the country" and through acceptance of testimony from "faceless accusers" in loyalty cases.

✓ According to the informant, Coleman will refer the memorandum to an individual by the name of Ferry, an executive of the Fund for the Republic, with the hope that the Fund will start a project along the same lines and on the points noted. Ferry is believed to be Wilbur H. Ferry, Vice President of the Fund. It is noted that the "Council for Personal Freedom" was previously named the Council for Protection of Personal Liberties and was founded in New York City on 12-5-55 as an independent CP organization. b7E

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Ferry C. Ashmore, former member of the Board ✓

✓ Ashmore announced on October 27, 1955, that he had turned down re-election to the Board of Directors of the Fund. He stated that he felt it "improper to sit on the Board while working full time on a political job." Ashmore in this statement made reference to his position as personal assistant to Adlai Stevenson, former Democratic Presidential nominee. (10-55-55 issue of "Washington Star"; 100-321007-A)

Arthur H. Dean, former member of the Board ✓

✓ Dean on 10-25-55 announced that he had on 9-27-55 resigned as director of the Fund for "policy reasons." He admitted quitting because of the organization's policies but declined to go into detail. (10-27-55 "Washington Post and Times Herald"; 100-801697-A)

The stated motives behind Dean's resignation were questioned by an editorial appearing in the 10-20-55 issue of the "Houston Chronicle." The editorial states that it appears strange that a man of Dean's caliber should withdraw from an organization supposedly dedicated to championing the rights of man, "unless, of course, he found a disillusioning contradiction between avowed purpose and action. His resignation suggests that this is perhaps the case." The editorial then accuses the Fund of having a lenient attitude toward Communism in American affairs. (100-801697-A)

Paul C. Hoffman, Chairman of the Board ✓

Hoffman presided at a press conference on 11-9-55 at Pasadena, California, at which time he staunchly defended the Fund and its President, Robert H. Hutchins. He blamed "misunderstandings" for the current attacks on the Fund and Hutchins. (11-11-55 issue of "Washington Post and Times Herald"; 100-801697-A)

Erwin N. Griswold, member of the Board ✓

On 11-14-55 the Marquette University Law School, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, sponsored three addresses on "The Problem of the Fifth Amendment in Modern Times," which was held in the Brooks Memorial Union of Marquette University.

Griswold was one of the speakers and stated at the outset that the greatest harm to the United States was possible in the field of the Fifth Amendment since it involved the setting of man against man and created suspicion among good, honest Americans. He pointed out, however, that he did not like Communists or Communism which he regarded as the greatest single threat to America and civil liberties. Communism would destroy the civil liberties of the United States, Griswold said, and added that he did not even like people who were formerly Communists since he had a definite reservation about their good judgement.

Griswold stated that certain persons have claimed that the use of the privilege of the Fifth Amendment is wrong because the public has a right to information. There is no such right as far as the public is concerned, he claimed. Griswold pointed out that the way Senate investigating committees in this country have handled certain hearings, they have caused the witnesses to claim the privilege of the Fifth Amendment although in some cases it may have been wrongfully claimed. People, he said, ought to try to understand why a person may claim the Fifth Amendment and not jump to the conclusion that he is either a criminal or a liar. The witness may become frightened or just plain stubborn, thus causing him to refuse to testify, Griswold said.

Griswold condemned the rule that in a Senate investigation if a person furnishes some information on a particular subject, he has waived the privilege and must furnish all he knows. This rule, he claimed, has compelled witnesses to immediately claim the privilege and furnish no information at all for fear of waiving the privilege. (100-391697-304)

John Ford O'Brien, member of the Board ✓

Fulton Lewis, Jr., in his broadcast on 11-24-55 was critical in his remarks regarding O'Brien, who he said was described by Hutchins as the "leading attorney in the United States." Lewis mentioned that O'Brien was the author of a recently published book entitled "National Security and Individual Freedom." Lewis read excerpts from this book and noted that O'Brien claimed that our citizens were becoming hysterical from a fear of Russia; that there is a "distrust" growing out of the investigations by the FBI and other intelligence agencies. Lewis noted that this is one of the books which is recommended as reading matter by the Freedom Agenda program sponsored by the Fund. (94-4-2100-244)

Robert E. Sherwood, former member of the Board ✓

Robert E. Sherwood, author and playwright, died on November, 1955. His successor has not yet been named by the Fund.

#### STAFF MEMBERS OF THE FUND

Anon Landman, staff member ✓

The October 8, 1955, issue of the "Los Angeles Times" contains an article criticizing the Fund for employing Landman (previously described) as a staff member. The editor states "taking Landman on in any capacity certainly reveals an ineptness, a head-in-the-clouds inperiousness to reality, which can raise legitimate doubts as to the Fund's capacity for meeting problems in the field of security which confront this country." (100-391697-A)



Cecilia Murphy, staff member

The San Francisco Division advised on 11-2-55 that according to [redacted]

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[redacted] (protect identity) and Cecilia Murphy had just been appointed as a Research Assistant at the Washington, D. C., office of the Fund at a salary of \$500 per month. (100-301037-202)

Bureau files reveal no pertinent information identifiable with Murphy. Our files indicate that one Cecilia Murphy was the subject of a Departmental applicant investigation conducted by the Bureau in January, 1954, which revealed nothing unfavorable. It is not known whether this individual is identical with the Cecilia Murphy employed by the Fund.

Alan Yarmolinsky, staff member

Yarmolinsky, in a speech before the Women's National Democratic Club at Washington, D. C., on 10-23-55 said that the Federal loyalty-security system covers too wide a range of jobs and allows "extraordinarily far-fetched charges" against Government workers. He suggested that a code be drawn up stipulating what kind of charges could be used in proceedings against an employee. Yarmolinsky was critical of the present security system but said some such program is needed in these days when there is a danger of Communist subversion. It is noted that Yarmolinsky is the editor of the "Case Studies in Personnel History," under a project financed by the Fund. (10-20-55 "Washington Star"; 100-301037-4)

COMMUNISTS TO THE FUND

Fulton Hillis, Consultant

David Lawrence, the columnist, advised the Bureau on October 10, 1955, that in the late 1920's or early 1930's Hillis wrote a book entitled "The Road to War," which followed the Alger Hiss line against the munitions makers. He stated that Hillis got into trouble over this book, which pegged Hillis, in Lawrence's mind, as either a "fuzzy thinker" or a "left-winger." (100-301037-240)

Fulton Lewis, Jr., in his broadcast on 10-20-55 stated that Hillis was a former editorial writer with the "New York Herald Tribune," but that his views and writings were so far to the extreme liberal side that it was no surprise when his column was dropped by that newspaper about a year and a half ago. (94-4-2100-203)

On 10-5-55 Fulton Lewis, Jr. reported Hillis had stated it was not the mechanics of the Federal security program to which he objected but the entire program itself. Lewis continued that Hillis had referred to the FBI as a "secret political police," which language was straight from Communist lexicon. (94-4-2103-207)

On 10-11-55 Hillis addressed a letter to the editor of "Boston Daily Record" concerning Lewis of quoting only part of his statement concerning the security program. Hillis said no doubt Communists had used the same phrases in referring to the FBI since "they are adept in using the phrases in which most of our liberties are enshrined." Hillis continued: "But if we have reached a point at which it is no longer acceptable to describe as 'a secret political police' an organization which is avowedly a police organization, avowedly operates in secret and is avowedly much concerned with political conspiracy (on all three points I need only cite its director's speech before the International Association of Chiefs of Police on October 3), then I think our liberties are in far more danger than I had supposed." (100-301037-A)

PROPOSED MEMBERS OF THE FUND

Harrie L. Ernst; Conrad Fromholz

The November 27, 1955, issue of "The Sunday Star," Washington, D. C., reported that there was to be a reshuffle of directors of the fund and that Harrie L. Ernst and Conrad Fromholz, New York attorneys, reportedly are joining the fund's board. The article stated that Ernst is "vehemently anti-Communist"; Fromholz believes that "Communists have civil rights under our Constitution"; and that both are noted for their defence of civil liberties. It is noted that no confirmation of these alleged appointments has been made by the fund to date.

## PART II

### LEADERSHIP IN THE FUND (January 1, 1956, to March 31, 1956)

#### OFFICERS

Robert H. Hutchins, President ✓

According to the January 10, 1956, issue of the "Washington Post and Times Herald" newspaper, Hutchins was re-elected President of the Fund for the Republic. The article stated that a spokesman of the Fund said that the election occurred on November 17, 1955, at a meeting which dealt with "matters of routine administration" and, therefore, no public announcement was made of the re-election at that time. (100-391637-A)

Regarding Hutchins' re-election, Fulton Lewis, Jr., commented on his broadcast January 10, 1956, that the Fund directors had decided to keep his re-election secret until their press announcement on January 8, 1956, because he had been under fire for his management of the Fund, and the directors did not want to have to answer for him. (94-4-2189-270)

The December, 1955, issue of "The Cross and the Flag," contained an editorial by Gerald L. K. Smith, publisher, entitled "Hutchins the Enigma." The editorial states "One of the most dangerous men on the face of the earth is Dr. Robert H. Hutchins. He has been a pinko, a left-winger and an appeaser for 25 years to my personal knowledge. It is a mystery to me how this irresponsible, self-styled intellectual was ever allowed to put his hands on the many millions of dollars that were left by the late Henry Ford." "The Cross and the Flag" is the official organ of the Christian Nationalist Crusade, a national political committee, located at Glendale, California. (62-43910)

Hutchins stated on January 31, 1956, that the directors of the Fund are entitled to a "small outburst of righteous indignation because of hysterical misrepresentations against the Fund." The statement was made in a speech before the



American Jewish Congress at the Waldorf Astoria, New York City, at which time he was presented with a plaque "for his defense of traditional American freedoms." Hutchins added that the Fund has been accused by a few individuals and groups whose vociferousness exceeds their influence and intelligence, of everything from ignorance to treason. He noted "Can it be that we are afraid to face the facts about how freedom and justice are faring in this country?" ("The Evening Star," Washington, D. C., 2-1-56; 100-391697-A)

In a speech before the Liberal Party's Committee at Large at New York City on February 10, 1956, Hutchins stated that "Some of the methods that we have employed to combat communism may be as much of a threat to civil liberties as communism itself." He added, "The Bill of Rights was set up to guarantee the freedom of the individual and of minorities but that in time of stress such guarantees tend to fade in the face of the demand for what is called security." He stated that a study sponsored by the Fund "disclosed a degree of general ignorance of and indifference to the Bill of Rights that must alarm anyone concerned about the preservation of their liberties." According to Hutchins the Fund was not set up to fight communism but to defend and advance the principles of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. He said, "In discharging this obligation, the Fund necessarily collides with communism." ("Washington City New Service," 2-18-56; 100-391697-A)

During the period February 20-24, 1956, the "New York Post" carried a series of five biographical articles concerning Hutchins which were written by Irwin Ross. The articles were complimentary toward Hutchins giving detailed account of his background, his past activities in the field of education, and ended with an account of his activities with the Fund. The article was favorable toward the Fund but did reflect the following criticisms against Hutchins and Wilbur H. Ferry, the Fund's Vice President:

Ferry's major failing, however, is his obliviousness to the complexities of the civil liberties field which is even more profound than Hutchins'. He has the sloganeering mind of an account executive wedded to an exuberant view that

abowed friends of civil liberties, short of declared communists, are true friends - - - and even more than Hutchins, Ferry has an inability to make the necessary and relevant distinctions.  
(100-368336)

The New York Division on 3-8-56 interviewed one Frank Straus Meyer during which he advised that in his opinion Hutchins was never a Communist Party (CP) member although at times he appeared to lean over backwards to tolerate the Party. In his dealings with Hutchins, he was able to manipulate Hutchins for the benefit of the Party on most occasions. However, on other occasions he was unsuccessful in getting to him. He never heard of any statement attributed to Hutchins in which Hutchins admitted to being a Communist. Meyer is a former CP member who specialized in educational work for the CP; was former Director of the Chicago Workers School, (succeeded by the Abraham Lincoln School, cited by the HCUA) 1938-42; was head of the American Student Union (cited by the HCUA) and the Communist Club while at the University of Chicago 1936-37. (100-368336-13)

Wilbur H. Ferry, Vice President ✓

According to the January 8, 1956, issue of the "New York Post" newspaper, Ferry was re-elected Vice President of the Fund on November 17, 1955. (100-391697-A)

*John P. Sullivan*  
The Boston Division by letter dated 1-31-56 stated that the New Hampshire Attorney General's office is in possession of a Photostat of a letter written by Ferry to President John Dickey, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, dated 12-14-53 in which he criticized the New Hampshire state investigation into subversive activities being conducted by Attorney General Louis Wymen and his possible questioning of professors of Dartmouth, and offering his assistance in any way possible to combat this investigation. Ferry stated he was putting himself forth as an indignant alumnus, not as a public relations counsel, and referred to "Wymen's investigation" as a fishing trip of a ranker stripe than most, stating it should be resisted, derided, and put in its proper contemptible light. (100-420181-10)

Boston advised that a subpoena has been issued by the New Hampshire Attorney General's office for Ferry's appearance

at the above-mentioned hearing and it will be served upon him if and when he is located in the State. (100-429181-10)

David F. Freeman, Secretary-Treasurer ✓

According to the January 8, 1956, issue of the "New York Post" newspaper, Freeman was re-elected Secretary-Treasurer of the Fund at a Board of Directors meeting held on November 17, 1955, (100-391697-A)

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Roger D. Lapham, member of the Board ✓

✓ On 2/7/56, the Fund announced that Roger D. Lapham, former mayor of San Francisco, was named as a director of the Fund. ("The Evening Star," 2/8/56; 100-391637-A)

✓ Bufiles indicated that Lapham was the subject of an European Recovery Program investigation in 1948, which failed to reflect any pertinent information. In addition, Bufiles indicate that in 1951 an informant furnished original documents of the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR). Documents reflected that in January, 1950, Lapham was a member of the American Council of the IPR; that he was a speaker before the Pacific Northwest Division of the IPR in 1950 at Seattle, Washington. The IPR has been cited by the California Committee on un-American Activities.

Fulton Lewis, Jr., in his broadcast of 2/7/56, stated that Lapham was a life-long republican of extreme liberal persuasion and the former director of Foreign Aid in China under Dean Acheson, who said upon his return from China that the communists were doing fine in Peking and Shanghai and that the Americans and Britains would be able to do business with them. (100-391637-243)

J. Howard Marshall, member of the Board ✓

✓ The Fund announced on 2/7/56, that J. Howard Marshall, Texas oil executive, was named as director of the Fund. ("The Evening Star," 2/8/56; 100-391637-A)

Bufiles indicate that on 12/9/37, one Ivan Francis Cox filed a complaint in the Superior Court of the State of California, San Francisco, against the 13th District of the Communist Party (CP) and numerous individuals and organizations. The complaint alleged that Marshall was among the sponsors and directors of the San Francisco School of Social Studies who conspired to keep from the public press the true facts surrounding the aims and activities of the school, namely, that it was a training school for adult organizers of the CP. The complaint was dismissed in August, 1939.

[redacted] an active confidential source, has advised that Marshall and almost all the other sponsors and directors of the school were persons of outstanding professional and social reputations in San Francisco and that the school had used their names as "window dressing." [redacted] added that Marshall and the other individuals listed were above reproach as to loyalty and had no real active interest in the school. A preliminary loyalty

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inquiry conducted by the Bureau in 1950 failed to reveal any additional information reflecting adversely upon Marshall's loyalty. (121-26179; 100-391697-342)

Oscar Hammerstein, II, member of the Board ✓

✓ The Fund announced on 2/7/56, that Oscar Hammerstein, II, playwright-producer, was named as a director of the Fund. ("The Evening Star," 2/8/56; 100-391697-A)

✓ In October, 1951, a security investigation was conducted by the Bureau concerning Hammerstein based on his reported connections with numerous Communist Party front organizations. The investigation reflected that during the 1940's he had been a sponsor of or had participated in activities of eight organizations cited by the Attorney General, one organization cited by the House Committee on un-American Activities (HCUA), and nine organizations cited by the California Committee on un-American Activities. In addition to these activities, Hammerstein had employed numerous Communist Party members or sympathizers in his shows. He has always fought discrimination and censorship. (100-391697-395)

Elmo Roper, member of the Board ✓

✓ Irving Ferman, <sup>retired</sup> Washington representative of the American Civil Liberties Union, advised the Bureau on 1/11/56, that Roper has no concept of his responsibility as a member of the board of directors of a foundation such as the Fund. Roper feels that all of their problems are public relations problems and that their projects are satisfactory. He now agrees that the Fund has been very inept in the selection of some of its materials and that the big problem is to get rid of Hutchins.

Ferman further advised that Morris Ernst, a New York City attorney, is taking quite an active interest in the Fund and apparently wants to get on the board of directors. Ernst wrote a letter to Paul Hoffman, chairman of the Board, the previous week wherein he said that the board could not capitulate at this time. Ferman also stated that the Fund has been making a series of grants to Catholic institutions recently and is seeking to underwrite a large project to be handled by Fordham University dealing with the Fifth Amendment. (100-391697-393)

#### CONSULTANTS TO THE FUND

Kalter Miller, Consultant ✓

Donald Rogers, financial and business editor of the

"New York Herald Tribune," stated during a conversation with a Bureau Agent on 12/14/55, that the "Tribune" had "deviated" for a period under the influence of a group of editors, specifically Walter Willis, "who came close to following the Communist Party line." He particularly stressed the role of Willis as having influenced the paper's policy and in this regard mentioned the strong support given the Algerasia subjects by the "Tribune" as an indication of the "party line" followed.

Rogers claimed that he and Brownie Reid, publisher of the paper, planned and executed a coup, which was responsible for removing Willis and others from their positions and the former policy was restored. He added, that Willis is now in an influential capacity with the Fund for the Republic, which is attacking the American judicial system and the FBI's work in the security field. He expressed strongly the opinion that the Fund is falsely proclaiming a civil rights advocacy for the purpose of undermining true civil rights so capably guarded by the present judicial system and the FBI. (100-421610-1)

Michael Harrington, Research Assistant

✓ The 11/22/55, issue of "The Daily Cardinal," the University of Wisconsin student newspaper, at Madison, Wisconsin, stated that Michael Harrington, national chairman of the Young Socialist League, was a research assistant for the Fund for the Republic. (100-301697-384)

✓ Copies indicate that Harrington is the subject of a pending security investigation by the Bureau and is currently on the Security Index. Investigation reflects that he has participated in socialist activities since at least 1953. Reliable information has connected him with the activities of the Socialist Youth League (cited by the Attorney General); the Independent Socialist League (cited by the Attorney General); the Young Peoples Socialist League and the Young Socialist League. During 1954-1955 he worked for the Workers Defense League, New York City (cited by the HCUA).

The Young Socialist League was founded in February, 1954, as a result of a merger of the Socialist Youth League and the Young Peoples Socialist League, which was expelled from the Socialist Party in August, 1953, because the Socialist Party objected to the Young Peoples Socialist League holding meetings with the Socialist Youth League. (100-411915)



## PART II

### LEADERSHIP IN THE FUND (April 1, 1956 to June 30, 1956)

#### OFFICERS

Robert M. Hutchins, President ✓

Hutchins, speaking at "Certificate Award Ceremonies" at the University of Chicago, where he was once Chancellor, on June 11, 1956, defined the controversial Fund for the Republic as an "anti-absurdity fund." He made a free-swinging attack on "sentimentalists" and "uneducated experts" during which he also jokingly announced that inasmuch as he has been frequently criticized by the American Legion as being soft to communists, he was opening his campaign to become National Commander of the American Legion. (Washington City New Service, 6-12-56; 100-391697-A)

The March 19, 1956, issue of "The New Leader" carried an article entitled "Six Fallacies of Robert Hutchins" written by Sidney Hook, Chairman of the Department of Philosophy at New York University. The article presents a detailed analysis of the controversial views Hutchins has on communism. The article states that to charge Hutchins with sympathy for communism or communists is absurd. All it (Hutchins' views on communism) indicates, according to the article, is a lack of common sense. But, it is a lack of common sense whose consequences are prejudicial first of all to the individuals engaged by the Fund for the Republic on research projects.

✓ Information was received on January 18, 1954, from an informant who has furnished reliable information in the past that a meeting was held on January 10, 1954, by the Citizens Committee to Preserve America's Freedom (CCPAF) at the Cosmopolitan Hotel, Los Angeles, California. The informant stated a group of individuals who had refused to testify before "various committees that were investigating un-American groups" was introduced on the stage and that this group included Robert Hutchins, former Chancellor of the University of Chicago.

✓ Another informant who has furnished reliable information in the past advised on April 5, 1955, that the CCPAF was organized

in Los Angeles in January, 1952, for the announced purpose of supporting a number of individuals from the medical and legal professions who had been subpoenaed to appear before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Since its establishment, the CCPAF, in extending its scope, has worked for the abolition of all Congressional, state and local committees investigating subversive activities and in the latter part of 1954 became very active in opposition to state and federal legislation directed at the communist movement. According to the informant, Frank Wilkinson, Executive Secretary of the CCPAF, was the "brains and energy" behind the organization. On September 17, 1952, an informant who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that Frank Wilkinson was a Communist Party member at that time. [redacted] former [redacted] 100-57458-1154)

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Paul G. Hoffman, Chairman of the Board of Directors ✓

Fulton Lewis, Jr., on his May 2, 1950, broadcast stated that the Eisenhower Administration was endeavoring to have Hoffman appointed as the Republican member on the United Nations (UN) Delegation for the meeting of the General Assembly of the UN which begins this fall. Lewis described Hoffman as a "long-time bleeding heart, one worder" and as the "patron saint" of Robert H. Hutchins, head of the notorious Fund for the Republic.

According to Lewis, Hoffman has stated that the only difference between him and the extremist, Dr. Hutchins, is that Hutchins has the courage of his convictions and dares to say publicly the things he believes. Hoffman does not.

In his May 3, 1950, broadcast, Lewis was extremely critical of Hoffman and Hutchins. He stated that the Studebaker-Packard Corporation, which Hoffman heads, lost \$20,700,000 last year and is losing money this year; that the stockholders are critical and angry; and that there are increased rumors that Hoffman is on the way out of the corporation. Lewis said that Hoffman was the head of the Economic Cooperation Administration in 1949-1950 and left it in such shape that it had to be abolished. According to Lewis, the White House is pushing Hoffman for a place on the United States Delegation to the UN General Assembly. He inferred that Hoffman is anxious for this appointment because he will have to resign from the Studebaker-Packard Corporation or be deposed. Lewis said "This is the Fund for the Republic...bidding for a place on the United States Delegation to the UN General Assembly." (94-2-2100-332,304)



The May 16, 1950, issue of the "Daily Worker," east coast communist newspaper, contains an article entitled "Paul Hoffman urges fight on black-listing." The article stated that Hoffman in a speech before students of the City College of New York on May 15, 1950, appealed to the students to speak out for freedom, to counteract black-listing, intimidation and fear. Hoffman said that the right to debate and the right to stand innocent until proven guilty has been debased by "a new form of Ku Klux Klinton by which a group of Americans having no judicial status can set themselves up to pass judgment on the loyalty of their fellow citizens. (100-331637-A)

Fulton Lewis, Jr., on his broadcast May 19, 1950, referred to the above statements made by Hoffman and pointed out that this was criticism of the Administration's security program and that further, Hoffman was being considered for a UN position. (92-4-3163-315)

An Associated Press article dated May 10, 1950, at New York entitled "Fund Fights Reds, Hoffman Says" reported that Hoffman told an American Legion Post on May 17, 1950, that the oft-criticized Fund for the Republic was conceived as a weapon against communism. "From the very beginning of its establishment," Hoffman said "the officers and directors of the Fund have given thought as to how the Fund could best contribute to our winning out in the struggle against communism." ("Washington Star," 5-12-50, 100-331637-A)

#### EMPLOYER OF THE FUND

George Philip Lantok, employer ✓

✓ On February 14 and April 24, 1950, a Special Agent of this Bureau determined in contacts with the Fund for the Republic New York headquarters that Lantok was employed by that organization at its office located at 255 West 105th Street, New York City.

✓ On June 14, 1954, Lantok is the subject of a current security-type investigation revealing that from 1954-1955 he was a member of the Young Socialist League (YSL); believed to be a member of the Independent Socialist League (ISL), designated by the Attorney General; attended YSL meetings; attended the YSL National Convention, September 2-5, 1955; was an instructor for the YSL in socialism; has written articles for socialist publications; and was described by a former college professor as one who in the event of an emergency would be on the side of a revolutionary faction. (100-402295)

The YSL was founded in February, 1954, as a result of a merger of the Socialist Youth League (SYL) and the Young People's Socialist League (YPSL) which was expelled from the Socialist Party in August, 1953, because the Socialist Party objected to the YPSL holding meetings with the SYL. (100-411915)

#### MISCELLANEOUS

According to the three-year report distributed by the Fund on 6-22-58, the following are identified as the officers, staff members, and consultants of the Fund.

#### Officers and Staff

Robert H. Hutchins, President  
E. H. Perry, Vice-President  
David P. Freeman, Vice-President and Treasurer  
Frank K. Kelly, Vice-President  
Adam Yarmolinsky, Secretary  
Winifred G. Markus, Assistant Secretary-Treasurer  
Callock Hoffman, Assistant to the President  
Edward Reed, Staff member  
Joseph E. Lyford, Staff member  
John Cogley, Staff member  
Nathaniel H. Webster, Counsel

#### Consultants

Robert E. Cushman  
Elmer Davis  
Paul Jacobs  
Frank D. Loescher  
Walter Willis  
Benjamin D. Cogan

PART II

LEADERSHIP IN THE FUND

(July 1, 1954 to September 30, 1955)

OFFICE 7

Robert L. Hutchins - President

According to a highly confidential informant, who has furnished reliable information in the past, Alfred K. Stern stated on 4/23/55 that he was an old friend of Robert L. Hutchins and described Hutchins as "quite a guy in a certain ball way." (LA 9545-S)

On 4/23/55 Bureau Agents observed Stern contact a man (later identified as Hutchins) in the Brazilian Room of the Beverly Wilshire Hotel, Los Angeles, California. After a 45 minute visit Hutchins departed from the hotel. No other details on this visit are available. It is noted that Bureau files reflect that Stern was previously in contact with Hutchins during November, 1951. (100-57453-1100; 100-300000-9 p. 6)

Briefly, Alfred K. Stern is a subject in the ROSEN; has been identified as a Soviet intelligence agent during the 1940's; has been reliably reported to be a member of the Communist Party during the 1940's and has been affiliated with numerous communist fronts. (100-57453)

Fulton Lewis, Jr. in his syndicated column on 7/13/55 stated that Hutchins makes a fetish of non-conformism--the theory that individuals never should be compelled to conform to any accepted pattern, that freedom of individual thought and actions should be unrestricted. He (Hutchins) also professes to admit that certain laws and mores must be obeyed, but the education is grudging and with the clear implication that it is merely an expedient bow to an overwhelmingly preponderant public opinion. Hutchins also declaimed at unconscionable length about the vital necessity of academic freedom.

Lewis stated that he recalled two instances which throw some light on Hutchins' purported philosophies: One concerns the time when Hutchins as Chancellor of the University of Chicago fired William F. Gouss, then head of the University Chicago Press, because Gouss refused to suppress a book Hutchins did not like.

The other is a brief article written by Lutchins in the March, 1952, issue of the "Northeastern Union Farmer." According to Lewis the article was a tirade against universal military training and its effect on youths. Recalling his own 3 teen-age years in the Army, Lutchins stated in the article "I came out lazier and more negligent than when I went in." (100-805330-A)

Fred Voltman, columnist, advised Mr. Nichols on 7/25/56 that he had received unconfirmed information that Steve Fitzgerald, who was formerly with the Baltimore Sun newspaper and who is a friend of W. H. Ferry, Vice President of the Fund, has been hired as a public relations consultant to rehabilitate Lutchins at approximately a \$30,000 annual salary. (100-801697-407)

Fulton Lewis, Jr. on his 9/18/56 broadcast cited an excerpt taken from the "International Affairs," an official publication of the Russian Government prepared in Moscow for admitted propaganda purposes. The section on the United States, under a subtitle labeled "The Low Public Mood," quoted the following:

"Dr. Robert Maynard Lutchins former head of the University of Chicago, now president of the Fund for the Republic, who has been speaking out against guilt by association, backed up his words with action. The Fund which has received a large grant from the Ford Foundation has moved on 3 important fronts: (1). It has financed the study of security dismissals in Government, the Armed Services, the maritime industry, the war industry and the Atomic Energy Commission; (2). It has made a grant to Stanford University of \$25,000 for the study and analysis of the testimony of experts on communism, in other words informers; and (3). It has made a grant to the Bar of the City of New York for a thorough study of the so-called security program. Anyone or all of these projects should bring substantial results." (90-4-2109)

Wilbur H. Ferry - Vice President

Carroll Colby, Ericarcliff Kanor, New York, author of the book "The FBI," and with whom the Bureau has maintained very favorable relations, advised the Bureau by letter 7/24/56 that Edward Meyer, principal of the local high school, had announced a 15 week "essential ideas seminar" for gifted seniors. The program will consist of viewing and study of 15 films produced

by Dr. Mortimer Adler for the National Education Television Center, Ann Arbor, Michigan. The films bear such titles as "Existence of God," "Truth," "Good, Evil and Beauty," etc.

Colby advised that the project was started through the efforts of Wilbur Ferry, a member of their local school board and an officer of the FEH. Through Mr. Ferry the high school was granted \$13,000 by the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Advancement of Education. Parents of the high school students are concerned with the Fund for the Republic's possible interest in the project (actually the money was furnished by the Ford Foundation).

Bureau's files show that Dr. Mortimer Adler is an advocate of world Government. In 1945 he stressed that the United States and other sovereign nations be abolished and advocated a world Government as an answer to the threat to civilization by the atomic bomb. (62-81409-10, 12)

Adam Yarmolinsky - Secretary

On 8-12-56 Yarmolinsky appeared on the TV panel program "City-Side," where he was questioned by local Washington newspapermen. When asked why the Fund has been criticized as procommunist, he said any organization concerned with the Bill of Rights or that tried to protect a minority or unpopular people would also be criticized. He stated that his case studies of the different security cases (about 350 in number) were used by the Bar Association of New York in its study of loyalty-security programs. He stated he felt the nation needed no new loyalty program but that administrative procedures within the present program should take care of both sensitive and nonsensitive jobs. He stated that he felt the United States should protect its confidential informants at hearings, but he was concerned as to how far the Government should go in using the information furnished by these informants. (62-10160-30)

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Paul G. Hoffman - Chairman of the Board

The July 14, 1956, issue of the "Washington Post and Times Herald" reported that President Eisenhower on July 13, 1956, nominated Hoffman as one of the five American representatives to the General Assembly of the United Nations to be held in November, 1956.



According to the July 10, 1956, "Washington City News Service," Senators McCarthy and Jenner bitterly attacked Hoffman and urged the Senate to reject him as the United States delegate to the U. N. General Assembly. McCarthy charged that "Hoffman has stood for a policy of softness toward the Soviet Union, Red China and the rest of the communist empire." Jenner said he did not charge Hoffman with being procommunist or "a willing collaborator." But he said the Fund for the Republic which he heads puts out "propaganda...which is slanted in support of objectives which the communist leaders have stated to be their objective." He said that Hoffman is not competent for the job.

The July 21, 1956, issue of the "Washington Post and Times Herald" reported that the Senate on July 20, 1956, unanimously confirmed the nomination of Hoffman. Senator Styles Bridges attacked Hoffman as having associated with "questionable characters" and having made statements susceptible to "double interpretations."

The "Washington City News Service" on 9/6/56 reported that Hoffman in a speech before the Overseas Press Club at New York City on 9/6/56, defended the propriety of the employment of a Communist by the Fund but said he "did not think of it as a probability." Hoffman backed in principal a controversial statement made by Hutchins in a television interview in the fall of 1955 to the effect that he, Hutchins, "wouldn't hesitate to hire a communist for a job he was qualified to do provided I was in a position to see he did it." Hoffman said Hutchins' statement had been misinterpreted and described Hutchins as "completely honest, but unfortunately a man who has difficulty in communicating his full ideas to others."

Hoffman also stated that Representative Walter, whose committee has investigated one of the Fund's activities earlier, had "pre-judged the issue." (Hoffman is referring to the ICJA's hearing in July, 1956, of the Fund's "Report on Blacklisting"). Hoffman stated "so far the committee has called only hostile witnesses." He added he would like to testify before the committee to explain the Fund's program. (100-301607-A)

Eleonor B. Stevenson - Mother of the Fund

Fulton Lewis, Jr. on his 8/6/56 broadcast stated that Mrs. Stevenson wrote a letter to W. H. Perry, Vice President of the Fund, on 3/14/56 in which she indicated that the Fund would like to have the money returned that it gave to the Plymouth Meeting Library. However, to do so would give satisfaction to

such people as Fulton Lewis, Jr. and the American Legion.  
(94-4-2189-337)

Mrs. Stevenson is referring to the \$5,000 awarded by the Fund to the Plymouth Meeting Library in June, 1955, for its hiring and refusing to fire Mary Knowles, a librarian, who previously refused to discuss past Communist Party activities while testifying before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1953 and 1955. This award has caused considerable controversy and was the subject of a hearing by the HCUA in July, 1956, which will be mentioned in detail in Part VI of this memorandum.

## PART II

### LEADERSHIP IN THE FUND

(October 1, 1956, to December 31, 1956)

### OFFICERS

#### Robert M. Hutchins - President

Hutchins spoke before a Ford Hall Forum audience at Boston, Massachusetts, on 11/25/56, and stated that the United States Supreme Court decision on school desegregation has enhanced American leadership and prestige abroad. He added that "for the purpose of gaining adherence of the peoples of the earth in the struggle against communism the moral force of America is more important than her military and economic power." (11/26/56 "Boston Traveler," 62-101037-A)

#### Wilbur H. Ferry - Vice President

By letter dated 7/24/56 Carroll Colby, Briarcliff Manor, New York, advised that the local high school had instituted a 15-week "essential ideas seminar" for gifted seniors. The program consists of viewing 15 films produced by Dr. Mortimer Adler, an advocate of world Government, under a grant of \$13,000 from the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Advancement of Education. The project was started by Wilbur H. Ferry, a member of the school board and an officer of the FFR.

Colby has now made available material which the American Legion Briarcliff Post No. 1054 on 10/29/56 presented before the Briarcliff Board of Education, calling upon the Board to abandon the above-mentioned seminar in view of critical references to Adler, the FFR and Ferry. This matter received considerable publicity in various November, 1956, issues of the "Citizens Register," an Ossining, New York, newspaper.

Colby also made available a copy of a letter dated 11/5/56 from Ralph Ferguson Lewis, former Bureau Agent and now chairman of the Briarcliff School Board, to George Kay, Commander of the Briarcliff Legion Post. Lewis was critical of the local Legion Post and stated that the school board would take no action on the Legion's ultimatum to abandon the seminar program. Lewis added further that the school board was going on record as being opposed to any kind of loyalty oaths for teachers.



Regarding the above, we furnished a blind memorandum dated 11/19/56 to Colby containing additional public source material regarding Ferry and the Freedom Agenda Program, an FFE sponsored community discussion of civil liberties matters, which is currently being introduced in Briarcliff. (94-46157-74)

Adam Yarmolinsky - Secretary

According to the 11/26/56 "Washington Post and Times Herald," a panel of lawyers agreed the night before that the Stanley Anti-Integration Plan was unconstitutional; that the Virginia General Assembly knew it and was using the Plan to prolong litigation for "they hope, generations."

The lawyers discussed the question, "Is the Stanley Plan Constitutional?" before a public meeting sponsored by the Community Council for Social Progress in the Unitarian Church of Arlington, Virginia. Yarmolinsky, a member of the panel, said that the Stanley Plan was "clearly an invasion of fundamental rights---." He said, "the great State of Virginia had been reduced to this situation by fear and hysteria." (62-101087-49)

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The Fund for the Republic announced on 11/20/56 that Elmo Roper, public opinion analyst, had been elected chairman of the Board of Directors of the FFE succeeding Paul G. Hoffman, who will continue as a director. Robert M. Hutchins was re-elected president of the Fund. Three additional board members were re-elected. They are Alicia Patterson of New York, editor and publisher of Nesaday, Long Island newspaper; Bruce Catton of Bethesda, Maryland, historian; and Harry S. Ashmore of Little Rock, Arkansas, executive editor of the Arkansas Gazette.

The Fund also announced the retirement of three board members whose terms have expired: Chester Bowles, John Lord O'Brian, an attorney, and James D. Zellerbach. (11/21/56 "Washington Post and Times Herald," 100-391697-A)

Up-to-date summaries have been prepared concerning Roper and Patterson (Bureau file 100-391697-437); Catton (Bureau file 121-12554-26); and Ashmore (Bureau file 100-407065-4).

STAFF MEMBERS

Michael Harrington

According to the 12/12/56 issue of the "New York World Telegram and Sun," the HCUA is investigating Harrington,

whom the FFR recently elevated to be the director of its "American Traditions" project which is described in Part IV of this memorandum. According to the article, three years ago, Harrington openly joined forces with the Independent Socialist League (ISL) and is currently active in this organization, a revolutionary Marxist movement cited as subversive by the Attorney General.

The above article also noted that Harrington had been the number two man to supervise the Fund's survey on blacklisting in the entertainment industry which culminated in a two volume "Report on Blacklisting," the subject of HCUA hearings at Washington, D. C., during July, 1956. The article added that Harrington's employment by the Fund is expected to figure prominently in the HCUA full-scale hearings on the Fund some time after 1-1-57.

According to the article, Mr. Harrington's "extremist left-wing" background was brought to light this week by "Advertising Agency Magazine" in its 7,000-word, exhaustive study of the Fund's "Report on Blacklisting." Advertising Agency's survey concluded: "It is hard to envision his (Mr. Harrington's) being sympathetic toward anything 'capitalistic', and objectivity under those conditions could seem most difficult to achieve." In its minutely-detailed analysis of the Fund's report, Advertising Agency concluded it was "loaded," it "contributed a great deal of misinformation" and it "has only confused the issue." The magazine's survey called it "sensational and not objective" and it questioned the "brand of journalism with which it was written." It particularly criticized John Cogley, the author, for his failure to follow the "basic journalistic practice" of cross-checking statements and his reliance on unnamed sources. (94-8-201-221)

Harrington has been the subject of a security-type investigation conducted by this Bureau since 1954 and is currently on the Security Index.

He has participated in socialist activities since 1953 and is reported as the National Chairman of the Young Socialist League and is a member of its National Action Executive Committee during 1955-1956. He is not known to be a member of the Independent Socialist League but has attended various activities of this organization and the Socialist Youth League (cited by the Attorney General) since 1954. As of 10-24-56 he was employed as project director by the FFR. (100-411915)

## PART II

### LEADERSHIP IN THE FFR (January 1, 1957 to March 31, 1957)

#### OFFICERS

##### Robert M. Hutchins - President

The 12/15/56 issue of the "Firing Line," prepared and distributed by the National Americanism Commission of the American Legion identified Hutchins as a member of the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union. (61-190-632)

Irving Ferman advised Mr. Nichols on 1/24/57 that he had lunch with Elmo Roper (chairman of the Fund's board) and Robert Hutchins recently in New York City. He said he found Hutchins considerably chastened, very affable and almost admitting that the Fund had made tremendous mistakes. Ferman did not get anything too specific but gained the impression that the Fund might underwrite a study of wire tapping. (100-391697-448)

#### BOARD OF DIRECTORS

According to the 3/8/57 issue of the "Washington Post and Times Herald," the Fund on that date announced the election of the following individuals to the Board of Directors: former Senator Herbert H. Lehman of New York; the Very Reverend Monsignor Francis Joseph Lally of Boston; and Dr. Henry P. VanDusen of New York. (100-391697-A)

A detailed, up-to-date summary of Bufiles regarding Monsignor Lally and Dr. VanDusen is contained in Bufile 100-391697-456.

#### CONSULTANTS TO THE FUND

##### Walter Millis, Consultant

The January 10, 1957, issue of "The Reporter" contains an article by Walter Millis which is critical of "The FBI Story," written by Don Whitehead. He states that "this ostensible 'report to the people' fails to supply the amount of kind of information about our secret police that would be necessary to gauge fairly its adequacy, its efficiency, its motivations, and its political and social implications."

## **PART II**

### **LEADERSHIP IN THE FUND** **(April 1 to June 30, 1957)**

#### **OFFICERS**

**Hallock B. Hoffman,**  
**Assistant to the President**

On 1/23/57, an informant who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that in January, 1957, a meeting was held at Los Angeles, California, which was attended by representatives of the Los Angeles County Communist Party (LACCP), among others. Also in attendance was one Hallock Hoffman, who represented the Pacifists. This meeting was to discuss cooperation between the LACCP and other Socialist groups on limited issues. Among the areas where joint action was recommended was in defending the rights of the victims of the Smith Act.  
(100-424101-27; [REDACTED])

b7D

Hoffman may be identical with Hallock B. Hoffman, assistant to the FFR president, and who according to files was the Associate Executive Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee, Inc., Pasadena, California, (a Pacifist organization) as of July, 1953. (105-35004)

#### **BOARD OF DIRECTORS**

**Elmo Roper, Chairman of the Board**

According to the April 1, 1957, issue of the Washington "Evening Star," Elmo Roper, the Fund's board chairman, was to be the chief speaker at a banquet of the National Civil Liberties Clearing House, scheduled for April 4, 1957, at the Hotel Statler, Washington, D. C. The banquet will be a highlight of the ninth annual convention of the organization. The conference will open with a discussion of the industrial security program and individual liberties. The right to equal protection and equal privileges, and equal opportunity in housing and employment will be discussed at the session on April 5, 1957.  
(100-391607-A)

Hayes Keatnbaum

According to the April 15, 1957, issue of the "Firing Line," a publication prepared and distributed by the National American Commission of the American Legion, the following statement by Keatnbaum appeared in the March 10, 1957, issue of the "Washington Post and Times Herald." Keatnbaum stated that he doesn't think there is any hope that Nationalist Chiang Kai-Shek will ever again lead China; therefore, we should recognize communist China. Keatnbaum's statement was immediately challenged by Senator Styles Bridges, who indicated that he should be called before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to explain the background of his views. Keatnbaum was also repudiated by Secretary of State Dulles, who declared on March 12, 1957, that it would not be in the United States' interest to recognize communist China and seat it in the United Nations. ("Washington Post and Times Herald," March 10, 1957; "The New York Times," March 13, 1957)

STAFF MEMORANDUM

John Cogley

The Director's article, "The Confidential Nature of FBI Reports," in the fall, 1956 issue of the "Syracuse Law Review," mentioned an author who had written a publication pertaining to blacklisting in entertainment industry and who refused to divulge identities of his informants, while the tax-exempt foundation for which he was writing berated the concept of placing evidence in information received by the Government from informants.

John Cogley, a member of the Fund's staff, by letter to the Bureau dated April 4, 1957, stated he is the author of the publication in question ("Report on Blacklisting"). His letter deals with his refusal to name anonymous sources when questioned July 10, 1956, by the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) when the committee was investigating the blacklisting report. Cogley objects to the Director's article, claiming that there is no parallel between an author's refusal to name informants and the Government's use of informants. He accuses the Director of confusing these issues but makes no sound argument in his contention. With the Director's approval, no reply was made to Cogley's letter. (62-103335-2)

George Sokolsky in his column appearing in the April 12, 1957, issue of the "Washington Post and Times Herald," stated that Cogley has recently written an article entitled "The Witnesses' Dilemma," which appeared in "The Commonwealth." Sokolsky claims that Cogley quotes him as follows:

"Civil liberties are always impaired by congressional committees.... The fundamental trial by jury, the right of a day in court, the right to be represented by counsel and many other basic civil rights are impaired."

Sokolsky claims the above statements appeared in his article published in the March 25, 1940, issue of the New York "Herald Tribune." Sokolsky stated that in referring to this article, Cogley permitted himself generous but uncivil liberties in his quotation of Sokolsky and did not quote the complete article to give an accurate picture. (100-391697-A)

## PART II

### LEADERSHIP IN THE FUND (July 1 to September 30, 1957)

#### OFFICERS

##### Resignations

David F. Freeman former vice president and acting treasurer.

Adam Yarnolinsky former secretary and head of the Washington office of the FFR.

The "Washington Post and Times Herald" of September 20, 1957, page A-18 carried an article captioned "Two Officers Resign Fund for Republic Posts" which indicated the above individuals resigned their positions with the FFR as a result of a policy disagreement with Fund President Robert H. Hutchins.

The article stated that Freeman joined the Fund when it was established 5 years ago and Yarnolinsky joined 3 years ago after supervising the Fund's project of "a legal study of Government security cases."

##### Remaining Officers

This news article also reflected that with these resignations the FFR had 3 remaining officials who were:

Robert H. Hutchins, president

"W. H. Perry" (Wilbur H. Perry), vice president

Frank K. Kelly, vice president (100-391697-473)

According to the 3-year report of the FFR distributed on C-22-56 the following were also listed as officers and staff members:

Winifred G. Meekus, assistant secretary-treasurer

Hollock Hoffman, assistant to the president

Nathaniel M. Webster, counsel

Joseph P. Lyford, staff member

Edward Reed, staff member

John Cogley, staff member



**PART II**

**LEADERSHIP IN THE FUND**  
**(Oct. 1, to Dec. 31, 1957)**

**STAFF MEMBERS**

**Paul Jacobs**

The FFL's publication "The Free Society" received on October 4, 1957, reflected on page 11 that Paul Jacobs was on the staff of the FFL and would render his services to the Labor Union Project.

It is noted the Fund's three-year report distributed on 8-22-58 reflected Jacobs was a consultant. A summary of information in Bufiles regarding Jacobs may be found in 100-801403-7. (100-391697-475)



PAGE II  
INTERVIEW IN THE FUND  
(January 1, to March 31, 1950)

INTERVIEW

Walter H. Perry - Vice President

Walter H. Perry, vice president of the Fund, wrote a letter to the editor of the "Citizen Regulator," Ossining, New York, which was published in that newspaper on January 2, 1950. Perry's letter was in answer to an editorial published on December 31, 1949, which was extremely favorable to the Director and the FBI and quoted portions of a press release dealing with accomplishments of FBI informants, public complacency toward domestic threats to our internal security, and the importance of citizen cooperation. The editorial criticized communists who have hidden behind the Fifth Amendment and other persons who have hesitated to furnish information. It pointed out that "anti-anti-communists" continue to oppose those who openly fight communism.

In his letter Perry suggested that the uncritical attitude of the editorial toward the Director's recent statement "is more dangerous to the well-being of this country than the hazards it cites." Perry accused the newspaper of suggesting "that it is heresy ('treason') to criticize Mr. Hoover's view, incidentally, that he seems to share." Perry also accused the newspaper of accepting the Director's "assertions" without asking him to prove them. Perry stated that the Communist Party "appears to be falling apart at the seams." He questioned why more spies and saboteurs were not brought forth for trial if they constitute a great threat. Perry admitted that law enforcement agencies need informants but stated "this is surely no reason for you or him (Mr. Hoover) to seek to raise informing to the status of an accepted American vocation or a wholesome neighborhood practice." Perry concluded his letter with an inference that there is a potential danger a highly organized and secret police, such as the German Gestapo and the Russian NKVD, might arise in the U. S. (100-400101-17)

CONTRIBUTOR TO THE FUND

Walter Lillie, Consultant

The "Rocky Mountain News" (Denver, Colorado) of February 10, 1950, carried an article captioned "Political Police Hit in Lecture At CU," which reflected Walter Lillie spoke during a discussion meeting held on February 10, 1950, at Colorado University, Boulder, Colorado. According to the

article, Willie stated the "huge apparatus of secret police and political police" that has grown in the United States would outwound the writers of the Constitution. Willie said that most Americans now find the threat of internal communism "ridiculous" and American courts have found it to be "greatly exaggerated."

Willie condemned the Smith Act and similar laws as being "aimed at identifying, disqualifying, punishing and rendering harmless those who hold seditious beliefs."

This newspaper article also quoted Willie as follows:

"These acts are not based on any theory that it is criminal to be a Communist, but that one who is a Communist is untrustworthy."

"This has often been called witch-hunting. If you believe that opinion is dangerous then you must hunt it down. And you must use the tools of the witch-hunt - the self-incriminatory oath, guilt by association, the test of what you read and what you say."

"There have been protests against these decisions by those who have made their careers out of hunting Communists. But there has not been a scintilla of evidence that our national security has been hurt."

The "Denver Post" (Denver, Colorado) of February 20, 1950, carried an article captioned "FBI 'Secret Police' Trend Denounced," which reflected Willie attended another discussion meeting at Colorado University on that date and suggested that the FBI should be investigated for its "secret police" curbs on political ideas. Willie said that FBI operations have spread "far beyond the concept of the Federal Bureau of Investigation when it was organized." According to this article, Willie also stated: "It's not necessarily the fault of J. Edgar Hoover. But it has been loaded on his shoulders by Congress and the executive department." Willie blamed the trend toward secrecy in Government as a partial explanation of the shift of the FBI into the field of "political thought."

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Alma Roper, Chairman of the Board

In its report of findings concerning the FFL, the LSCA quoted a portion of the law relating to tax-exempt organizations as follows: "Its net earnings must not inure in whole or in part to the benefit of private shareholders or individuals."

According to the LSCA report, in 1953, Alma Roper was a member of the FFL's board of directors and was the sole owner of a public opinion gathering company. She was also chairman of the FFL's "Internal Communist Menace Committee" formed on March 10, 1953. This committee recommended a public opinion survey as a means of determining the extent of the internal communist menace. At a special meeting of the directors on June 10, 1953, it was voted unanimously that a firm other than Roper's be used.

The LSCA report reflected that over a year later the FFL again decided to use a public opinion technique in connection with its "Fear in Education Project." On September 15, 1954, the directors approved the use of Roper's company and reaffirmed this decision on November 6, 1954. \$41,700.01 was paid to Roper's firm by the FFL.

The LSCA report reflected that from the above it appeared that the FFL was deliberately violating the law until LSCA located an article on page 57 of "The New York Times" of January 27, 1955, indicating that Roper's firm changed from a single proprietorship to a partnership. The LSCA report raised the question that the change may have been made to circumvent the law. (Page 6 and 57 of LSCA report)

PART II  
LEADERSHIP IN THE FUND  
(April 1, to June 30, 1950)

The "Bulletin" of the FFR dated May, 1950, reflected that Robert M. Hutchins, president of the FFR addressed the tenth annual conference of the National Civil Liberties Clearing House (NCLCH) in Washington, D. C.

The "Bulletin" reflected that the first two days of meetings were devoted to the subject of "Individual Freedom and the Common Defense." Among other participants in the program were Legr. Francis J. Lally, a director of the Fund, and Walter Willis, staff administrator of the Fund's Common Defense Project. (Bureau Library)

The "Washington Post and Times Herald" of March 5, 1950, reflected the NCLCH Conference was held at the Hotel Statler, Washington, D. C., on March 6 and 7, 1950.

A summary of information in Bufiles re NCLCH may be found in 100-803054-21.

The May 15, 1950, issues of "The Reporter Dispatch" of White Plains, N.Y. and "The Citizen Leader" of Ossining, N.Y., reflected that Wilbur H. Ferry, vice president of the FFR was being considered by the Democratic Party in Westchester County, N.Y., as a possible candidate for U.S. Representative from the 27th Congressional District. (100-420181-10)

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The "Bulletin" of The Fund for the Republic dated May, 1950, reflected the board of directors of the FFR consisted of the following.

Chairman: Elmo Roper, Elmo Roper and Associates, New York, N.Y.

Vice Chairman: George H. Shuster, president Hunter College, New York, N.Y.

Harry S. Ashmore, executive editor, Arkansas Gazette, Little Rock, Arkansas.

Druce Catton, editor, American Heritage, New York, N.Y.

Charles W. Cole, president, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.  
 Russell L. Dearmont, president, Missouri Pacific Railroad, St. Louis, Mo.  
 Erwin N. Griswold, dean, Law School of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.  
 Oscar Hammerstein, II, New York, N.Y.  
 Paul G. Hoffman, Pasadena, Calif.  
 Robert M. Hutchins, president, The Fund for the Republic, Inc.  
 William H. Joyce, Jr., San Marino, California  
 Meyer Kestnbaum, president, Kart, Schaffner and Marx, Chicago, Illinois.  
 McGr. Francis J. Lally, editor, The Pilot, Boston, Mass.  
 Herbert H. Lehman, New York, N. Y.  
 M. Albert Linton, Chairman of the board, Provident Mutual Life Insurance Co., Philadelphia, Pa.  
 J. Howard Marshall, vice president, Signal Oil and Gas Co., Fort Worth, Texas.  
 Jubal R. Parten, president, Woodley Petroleum Co., Houston, Texas.  
 Alicia Patterson, editor and publisher, Newsday, Garden City, Long Island, N.Y.  
 Eleanor B. Stevenson, Oberlin, Ohio  
 Henry Pitney Van Dusen, president, Union Theological Seminary, New York, N.Y.  
 (Bureau Library)

#### CONSULTANTS TO THE FUND

A bulletin of The Fund for the Republic dated May, 1950, reflected the following persons comprised a Central Committee of Consultants to the Fund and have the task of clarifying fundamental questions in regard to the Fund's Basic Issues Program:

A. A. Berle Jr.  
 Attorney, Author, former Assistant Secretary of State.  
 Scott Buchanan  
 Philosopher, author, former dean of St. John's College.  
 Eugene Burdick  
 Political scientist, Univ. of Calif., novelist.  
 Eric F. Goldman  
 Professor of history, Princeton; Bancroft Prize winner  
 Clark Kerr  
 President-elect, Univ. of Calif.; labor economist

Henry R. Luce  
Editor-in-chief, Time, Life, Fortune

John Courtney Murray, S. J.  
Theologian, Woodstock College; editor of Theological  
Studies.

Reinhold Niebuhr  
Vice-president and graduate professor, Union Theological  
Seminary

Isidor I. Rabi  
Nobel Prize scientist; Higgins Professor of Physics,  
Columbia University.

Robert Redfield  
Professor of anthropology, Univ. of Chicago; former  
president, American Anthropological Assn.

Robert M. Hutchins  
President of the FFR, serves as chairman of the committee.

#### STAFF MEMBERS

##### Joseph P. Lyford

The April 14, 1958, issue of the "New Republic" carried an article on page 11 captioned "To the Mothers of America" by Joseph P. Lyford. The article was a vicious, underhanded attack upon the Director of the FBI although he is not mentioned by name anywhere in the article. The Director is repeatedly referred to as the "Big Policeman" and his opinions, his writings, and his position are belittled and ridiculed in the article. (94-3-4-690-101)

The three-year report of the FFR distributed on June 22, 1956, reflected that Joseph P. Lyford was a staff member of the FFR. A summary of information contained in Bureau files re Lyford may be found in 100-391697-281.

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FUND PRODUCTIONS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Completed Productions

There are comparatively few completed productions which can be attributed to the Fund. Those which have been finished are set forth below:

Compilation of Statutes and Executive Orders on Loyalty-Security

In November, 1954, the Fund appropriated \$21,000 for the preparation of a compilation of laws and regulations relating to the loyalty-security program.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,  
May 31, 1955, pp. 15, 30

According to the December 22, 1954, issue of The New York Times, in December, 1954, the Fund was furnished a 101-page compilation of statutes, executive orders, and other regulations pertaining to the loyalty-security program. The report of the Fund indicates that the research was performed by Sandra Weinstein and Ralph S. Brown, Jr., of the Yale Law School.

Brown has authored articles critical of the loyalty-security

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program. In an article in the July, 1953, issue of the Yale Law Journal, he attacked and belittled the Coast Guard Screening Board for relying on confidential informants of the FBI whose identities are not revealed. This article claimed the program was unconstitutional.

The Bridgeport Herald, for December 7, 1947, showed that Brown was one of a group of faculty members of the Yale Law School who signed letters to high Government officials protesting the Loyalty Program and urging abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties

In June, 1953, the Fund appropriated \$185,500 for a survey of American attitudes toward Communism and civil liberties. The results of this survey were published as a book by Samuel A. Stouffer entitled, Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties, by Doubleday and Company in 1955.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,  
May 31, 1955, pp. 13, 28, 38

The committee which prepared this study included the following:

Chairman: Samuel A. Stouffer  
Director of Laboratory of Social Relations  
Harvard University

In 1946, Stouffer was a member of the faculty of the School of Political Action and Techniques conducted by the Massachusetts Citizens Political Action Committee in Boston, Massachusetts. This organization was alleged to be under Communist influence.

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Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Professor,  
Columbia University

The July 3, 1937, issue of The New York Times reflects that Dr. Marie Lazarsfeld, former wife of Dr. Paul Lazarsfeld, had been sentenced to three months' imprisonment in Vienna, Austria, after pleading guilty to aiding Socialists and possessing Socialist literature.

The Daily People's World for May 22, 1950, indicated that Lazarsfeld had announced his cancellation of a summer teaching appointment at the University of California in protest against the Regents' loyalty oath requirements. In October, 1943, Lazarsfeld was reported to have taken part in the program of the Writers Congress held at the University of California, Los Angeles.

The Fourth Report of the Un-American Activities Committee in the State of California, as prepared by the Joint Fact-Finding Committee to the 1948 regular California Legislature, Sacramento, California, states on page 135 that the Writers Congress held on October 1, 2, and 3, 1943, was sponsored by the Hollywood Writers Mobilization, successor to the Hollywood Branch of the League of American Writers. \*

In May, 1945, the Newspaper Guild of New York presented a

\* See Appendix for citation.

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free speech forum on station WMCA, New York City. The speakers were Earl Browder, then president of the Communist Political Association, and Paul Lazarsfeld.

Alexander F. Leighton, Professor,  
Cornell University

Leighton was listed as a book reviewer for the June, 1945, issue of Pacific Affairs, a publication of The Institute of Pacific Relations.\*

In the "Acknowledgments" section of the book Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties, Stouffer paid tribute to many other persons who had contributed memoranda and criticism. They included the following:

Alice Bauer

In 1946, Alice Bauer was reported to be a social acquaintance of William W. Remington and his wife, Ann.

Remington was convicted in January, 1953, of perjury and sentenced to three years in prison. Prior to the completion of this

\*See Appendix for citation.

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sentence, however, he was killed in prison.

Raymond A. Bauer

An article in the May 12, 1950, issue of The Washington Post newspaper stated that Bauer had been summoned on May 11, 1950, to testify before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. It was stated that some of Bauer's testimony might center on William W. Remington, with whom Bauer was friendly while both attended the Navy's Oriental Language School.

Another Government agency advised that on May 17, 1950, Bauer told an employee of that agency about his testimony before the House Committee on that date. He told that individual that he had seen and talked to Remington on the evening of May 16, 1950. Bauer further told that individual that the committee "had nothing on him (Bauer) and he is not and never has been a Communist."

The employee of another Government agency, who is acquainted with Bauer, advised in June, 1954, that he considered Bauer an apologist for the Soviet Union since Bauer would defend the Soviet Union's actions and sometimes argues quite vehemently in favor of the Russians. He also considered Bauer to have been very friendly with William W. Remington when both were stationed in Washington, D. C.

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On May 19, 1950, Bauer admitted that he knew Remington, having first met him April, 1944, when both were assigned to the Naval Oriental Language School in New York. He related that he came to know Remington quite well thereafter and had last seen him in approximately May, 1949. He also admitted that he was socially acquainted with Mrs. Remington.

Talcott Parsons

In May, 1945, Parsons was a member of the Educational Committee of the American Committee for Spanish Freedom.\* Parsons admitted being a sponsor of the John Reed Club\* at Harvard University.

M. Brewster Smith

The Portland Oregonian for January 27, 1938, listed Brewster Smith as one of the members of the Executive Committee of the American Student Union\* chapter of Reed College.\*

The Bureau of Academic Freedom of the National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions\* issued a statement on March 1, 1949, to the effect that 150 educational leaders from more than 50 American colleges

\*See Appendix for citation.

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and universities had urged the president of the University of Washington to reinstate, with full rights of tenure, three professors recently discharged from the university for membership in or "ambiguous relationship to" the Communist Party. Smith was listed as a signer of the statement.

Shirley Star

Another Government agency conducting personnel and intelligence investigations, advised that Star indicated that from 1936 to 1938 she had been a member of the American Student Union.\*

Gordon Allport

Gordon Allport is further identified in the section describing the Commission on Race and Housing.

The primary objective of the study which produced Stouffer's book, Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties, according to comments on the jacket of the book itself, was to "sound out America's attitude toward the threat of Communism, its feeling about conformity, and its respect for civil liberties."

Stouffer assessed the Communist menace in the following manner:

\*See Appendix for citation.

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"...there can be no denying that some Americans in the past, including some well-educated people, were victimized by Communist ideology. It does not necessarily follow, as some Americans seem to think, that the same thing is happening today and that our youth in schools and colleges or our government workers or factory employees are being successfully subverted to become traitors to the United States and secret agents of world revolution.

"...there can be no denying that certain propositions which some Communists believe in, or profess to believe in, are also sincerely believed by some Americans today who are loyal to America and bitterly opposed to Russia. The difficulty, of course, is to counteract the belief that the holding or propagation of any such beliefs, especially as they deviate from traditional American thinking, is 'playing Russia's game.'

"...It is doubtful whether any Americans, except for the small core of Communists and a scattering of right-wing Fascist extremists, believe in or preach political dictatorship. It is likewise doubtful whether any but a handful of disciplined Communists favor or advocate the domination of the world by Russia. ...."

Samuel A. Stouffer, Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties, pp. 165, 167

Stouffer observed that very few individuals were concerned about either the Communist threat or the threat to civil liberties. Nevertheless, Stouffer concluded that "one must not draw the inference... that the internal Communist menace or the chipping away of civil liberties does not constitute a serious problem merely because the general public is not deeply anxious about either of these problems."

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Bibliography on the Communist Problem in the United States and Digest of the Public Record of Communism in the United States

In June, 1953, the Fund appropriated \$64,500 for a study of official records relating to Communist activity. Two volumes were published by the Fund in 1955. The first-named work is devoted to literature relating to Communism in the United States since 1919; the second is a record of public proceedings, court prosecutions, legislation, executive action, et cetera-- concerning Communists and Communism in this country. As a result of this study, two volumes entitled; Bibliography on the Communist Problem in the United States and Digest of the Public Record of Communism in the United States were published by the Fund in 1955. These books have been distributed by the Fund to university, research and public libraries.

The committee which prepared this study included Clinton Rossiter, professor, Cornell University. Another Government agency conducting intelligence investigations advised that Clinton Lawrence Rossiter II, Cornell University professor, had been disapproved for security clearance because in 1953 he gave as a reference a person who had been listed as one of the individuals controlling the American Russian Institute, \* Hollywood, California.

Microfilm of Court Cases on Communist Activities

Under the afore-mentioned \$64,500 appropriation, the Fund has also furnished microfilm records of the most important court cases on Communist

\*See Appendix for citation.

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activities to some of the larger libraries throughout the country.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,  
May 31, 1955, pp. 12, 13, 26, 38.

Case Studies in Personnel Security

In June, 1954, the Fund appropriated \$100,000 for a compilation of the facts on individual cases under the loyalty-security program. This survey was directed and edited by Adam Yarmolinsky, a Washington, D.C., attorney.

In 1955, a book by Yarmolinsky entitled Case Studies in Personnel Security was published by The Bureau of National Affairs. It includes summaries of 50 case histories of individuals whose cases were processed under various Federal personnel security programs.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,  
May 31, 1955, pp. 15, 28, 39.

This study tends to reflect the thinking of W.H. Ferry of The Fund for the Republic. In a memorandum dated March 1, 1955, captioned "The Fund for the Republic, Inc., Loyalty-Security Case Study," which memorandum was signed W. H. Ferry, Vice-President, it was stated that The Fund for the Republic had undertaken, as part of a fact-finding study of the operation of government loyalty and security programs, to collect case

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histories of several hundred cases arising under the various Federal personnel security programs covering Government employees, employees of Government contractors, merchant seamen and port workers. This memorandum also stated that the Fund had made a special grant to the Association of the Bar of the City of New York to establish a committee on the Federal loyalty-security program which had been asked to look into all aspects of the programs and to make recommendations for changes, as such changes, in the committee's judgment, were needed. The memorandum also noted that the case histories would be for the confidential use of The Fund for the Republic and the Special Committee of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York and that they would not be circulated beyond that point. Ferry, in his memorandum, further stated that it was proposed to prepare a limited number of cases in a form which would make it possible to circulate them without restriction.

In the introduction to his book, Case Studies in Personnel Security, Yarmolinsky stated that the 50 cases presented in that book had been collected in the course of a study of several hundred cases arising under the various Federal personnel security programs and that the study was still in progress. It was further stated, in the introduction of Yarmolinsky's book, that in each instance the employee was asked, through his lawyer, whether he would be

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willing to release the report of his case for general distribution and that the cases appearing therein were among those in which such a release had been obtained. Yarmolinsky further stated that about one-half of the cases collected had been made available only on the understanding that they would be circulated in confidence to the members of the Committee and the personnel of The Fund for the Republic and would not be released for general distribution. Yarmolinsky admits that the fact that such cases were not included in his book may have had an effect on the sample.

This sampling which excludes the cases arising under the Truman Loyalty program (Executive Order 9835) is so limited, when contrasted with the results of the nation's complete loyalty-security program which involved approximately 6 million cases, as to be misleading and relatively worthless as a criterion for judgment.

The Tablet, a Catholic weekly, in its issue of August 20, 1955, said that the 50 cases selected by Yarmolinsky contained snatches of testimony which could be used to make the loyalty checks appear absurd. "The purpose of the report," the article said, "was clearly aimed at duping those who believe everything in print must be true into believing that any group that is engaged in the investigation of Communist and Soviet agents in this country is stupid, ineffective, and expendable."

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An editorial in the Fort Lauderdale (Florida) Daily News for September 3, 1955, stated, "... Out of 2,260,000 employees screened since the 1953 origin of the security check, the 'study' offered 50 cases in which testimony could be manipulated to make the whole program seem unfair and ridiculous."

Yarmolinsky was assisted by an advisory committee which included Roger D. Fisher, also a Washington, D. C., attorney.

It was reported that an individual believed to be identical with Fisher attended the annual closed meeting of the American Youth Congress\* on February 7, 8, and 9, 1941, in Washington, D. C.

#### The Draftee and Internal Security

In November, 1954, the Fund authorized a program of fellowships and grants-in-aid and appropriated \$115,000. Rowland Watts, national secretary of the Workers Defense League, was among those who received a grant-in-aid from the Fund for a study of "undesirable" discharges given drafted servicemen by the Army based on preinduction activities or associations.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,  
May 31, 1955, p. 40

Watts began this study on his own initiative under the sponsorship of the Workers Defense League, and while his work was in progress he received the grant-in-aid from The Fund for the Republic.

The Washington Post and Times Herald,  
August 5, 1955

The Workers Defense League has been described by the House

\*See Appendix for citation.

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Committee on Un-American Activities as the defense organization of the Socialist Party.

Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States. Hearings before a Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 75th Congress, 3rd Session, H. Res. 282. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938)

In 1955, a two-volume work entitled The Draftee and Internal Security by Watts was released by the Workers Defense League. Volume I sets forth Watts' analysis and conclusions regarding the Army Military Personnel Security Program as it affects draftees. Volume II outlines 49 case studies out of the 110 cases reviewed by Watts.

In Volume I, Watts concludes that the Army has challenged in regulation and practice every right "to which every young man subject to the Universal Military Training and Service Act is entitled."

Rowland Watts

Watts has stated that in 1942 he became president of the Maryland Council for Conscientious Objectors and represented other conscientious objectors in court. On December 26, 1942, he was ordered by Local Draft Board 20, Baltimore, to report to a conscientious objectors' camp in Maryland, after which he was transferred as a conscientious objector worker to the Connecticut State Hospital for the Mentally Insane for two and one-half

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years, this assignment terminating in December, 1945. Watts has admitted this and further stated that in February, 1946, he started his employment with the Workers Defense League and, since 1947, has served as national secretary of that organization.

Watts was one of a number of persons who appeared on the stage of the Labor Temple in New York City on February 12, 1947, in a public demonstration of the Break with Conscription Committee. These individuals denounced the draft and the Selective Service Act and either tore up their draft cards or announced they had previously done so in Washington or had sent them by mail to the President.

In the Fall of 1951, the New York branch of the Independent Socialist League\* sponsored a series of lectures at Labor Action Hall in New York City. Watts was scheduled to speak on September 6, 1951, on the subject "The Loyalty Program and Security Screening - How it threatens our democracy." Watts was reported to have been active on behalf of individuals and groups that claimed to have been unjustly affected by applications of the loyalty program.

In 1952, Watts was listed among the members of the national advisory council of the War Resisters League, a nonsectarian, interracial, pacifist organization affiliated with the War Resisters International, an international pacifist organization. Many of the League's officials and

\*See Appendix for citation.

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members have refused to register for any selective service training program and have publicly urged others claiming conscientious objection to war to do likewise.

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## DISTRIBUTION OF BOOKS, ARTICLES, AND OTHER MATERIAL

The report of The Fund for the Republic (pp. 41-42) reflects the distribution of various materials pertinent to the Fund's aims and objectives.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,  
May 31, 1955, pp. 41-42

Commenting on this distribution, David Lawrence wrote in his newspaper column that the Fund's money was being used to distribute books, pamphlets, and speeches "by those who are opposed to the present security program." Lawrence pointed out that no attempt has been made to permit the rebuttal of those writings, "many of which are false and contain misleading statements and half-truths."

The Evening Star (Washington, D.C.),  
September 16, 1955

George Sokolsky observed in one of his columns that "one phase of political propaganda is the uninvited, unsolicited, unpaid-for distribution of material on one side of a question with the object of influencing public opinion."

The Washington Post and Times Herald,  
June 8, 1955

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In another column, Sokolsky noted, "The list is all one-sided. It is anti-FBI, anti-congressional committees investigating subversives."

The Washington Post and Times Herald,  
August 30, 1955

Congressman B. Carroll Reece, in a speech before the House of Representatives on July 21, 1955, declared that, "Another activity in the one-sided political propaganda field of the Fund for the Republic is the free and unsolicited distribution of books to Federal judges and college presidents throughout the United States."

#### Banned Books

As of May 31, 1955, the Fund had distributed 275 copies of Banned Books, by Anne Lyon Haight.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,  
May 31, 1955, p. 41

The author states that most books are banned because of religion, politics or morality "making the offense one of heresy, treason or obscenity...." She includes some books on the list because in her opinion they were under fire for subversive reasons or "because their authors were accused of having subversive opinions."

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Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists

The Fund distributed 25,000 copies of a special issue on loyalty-security in the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists dated April, 1955, Volume XI, Number 4.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,  
May 31, 1955, p. 41

Congressman Reece, in the July 21, 1955, speech previously referred to, declared that this issue was devoted entirely to attacks on the security and loyalty program of the Government and to praise of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, chairman of the Bulletin's board of sponsors.

Fulton Lewis, Jr., in a radio broadcast on August 25, 1955, said the special issue was given over to a defense and glorification of Oppenheimer and a series of attacks on the Government's loyalty and security program in general.

In June, 1954, following a hearing before an Atomic Energy Commission Personnel Security Advisory Board which formally inquired into Oppenheimer's past association with the Communist Party, its members and sympathizers, his clearance for access to classified data was revoked.

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The Board found that Oppenheimer's continuing conduct and associations reflected a serious disregard for the requirements of a security system and that a susceptibility to influence had been found which could have serious implications for the security interests of the country. While the Board concluded that Oppenheimer was a loyal citizen, it had been unable to arrive at a conclusion that it would be clearly consistent with the security interests of the United States to reissue Oppenheimer's clearance.

The first article in the special issue of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists dated April, 1955, is entitled "Security and Science Sacrificed to Loyalty" by Professor Edward Shils of the University of Chicago. Shils' article infers that those who took no part in formulating security-loyalty regulations were "bullied and misled by a very small minority of vociferous demagogues and their febrile popular following."

While a student at the University of Chicago in 1937, Shils was a member of the American Student Union.\*

Ralph S. Brown, Jr., wrote one article and contributed to another article in this special issue. He criticized the loyalty-security program as a "shocking waste of resources" since thousands are engaged in the administration of security programs. Brown has been described previously in connection with Fund productions.

\*See Appendix for citation.

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Cornell Series in Civil Liberties

Robert E. Cushman, a consultant for the Fund, \* was the advisory editor of the Cornell Series in Civil Liberties distributed by the Fund. Seven books were published in this series although the report of the Fund does not specifically state that all seven were distributed. These books are described below.

The first book published in the series was Security, Loyalty and Science (1950) by Walter Gellhorn, professor of law at Columbia University. Statements by the author in this book minimize the Communist threat, the effects of espionage, and call the loyalty and security programs defective. Gellhorn presents false information concerning the FBI, stating that special squads of FBI Agents are given technical indoctrination courses and are then stationed in laboratories of the Atomic Energy Commission. This statement is false in its entirety.

Gellhorn also edited The States and Subversion (1952), which consists of a series of articles by different authors relating to the efforts made by various states to combat subversion. In varying degrees, the authors conclude that the States of Illinois, Maryland and Michigan were wrong or failed in their objective. Gellhorn's own comments again tend to

\*Source: Report of The Fund for the Republic, May 31, 1955, p. 36.

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minimize the influence and threat of Communism in this country. He concludes that legislation enacted to control subversion has been faulty and there is a question as to the need for additional legislation in this field.

According to an article in the February 1, 1939, issue of the Daily Worker, Gellhorn, was one of one hundred and fifty professors and attorneys who attacked the Dies Committee for the manner in which it was conducting investigations.

The Daily Worker for March 15, 1948, contained an article captioned "Gellhorn Raps Un-Americans." This item refers to an article written by Gellhorn in the spring issue of The American Scholar, in which he criticizes the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and calls for resolutions that will permit a witness to have counsel, to reply to charges with oral or written statements, and to cross-examine the person who has attacked his character and reputation. Gellhorn is quoted as having said, "More important than any procedural reform, however, is conscious opposition to the Committee's bullying."

On October 16, 1950, Gellhorn gave an address before the New Haven Civil Liberties Union, an affiliate of the American Civil Liberties Union, at the Yale Law School in New Haven, Connecticut.

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The subject of his address was "You and the Subversives." Gellhorn is reported to have said that he had been conducting a survey of committees of various states whose purpose was to curb subversive activities. He said that in many states, because of pressure on the state legislature, laws had been passed which are a great threat to civil liberties. Gellhorn cited examples of laws which had been passed by states with the purpose of controlling Communism. Gellhorn lamented such legislative acts and the extensive investigations made in the various institutions of education, adding that if there were any real indication of subversion, such as acts of sabotage, he would not object to the investigations.

The Washington Post and Times Herald for April 1, 1955, carried a letter to the editor captioned "Freedom to Teach." The letter was signed by a group of ten individuals, among whom was Walter Gellhorn. The communication calls attention to the case of Dr. Paul M. Sweezy, described as a well-known writer on Marxian economics who has refused to answer certain questions asked by the Attorney General of the State of New Hampshire, pointing out that Dr. Sweezy refused to answer questions about the content of one of his lectures which dealt with the theory of socialism. This letter points out the need for free presentation, free discussion and free questioning in education, and questions the wisdom of the Attorney General's conduct in the case of Sweezy.

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The December 24, 1952, issue of the Miami Herald set forth that Louis Budenz, a national official of the Communist Party, USA, from 1935 to 1945, testified under oath that Gellhorn was a member of the Communist Party.

Gellhorn has also been either a member of or participated in activities of the following organizations:\*

1. American Rescue Ship Mission
- ✓ 2. International Juridical Association
3. International Labor Defense
- ✓ 4. National Emergency Conference
5. National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights
- ✓ 6. National Lawyers' Guild
- ✓ 7. Non-Partisan Committee for the Re-election of Vito Marcantonio
- ✓ 8. Workers School, New York City

A trusted official of the American Civil Liberties Union has privately stated that Gellhorn as a member of the board of the ACLU has never taken an anti-Communist position in meetings of the board of the ACLU.

Edward L. Barrett, Jr., professor of law at the University of California, was the author of another book in the Cornell series entitled The Tenney Committee (1951). Barrett argues that legislative committees should be judged by their ability to reduce the "influence and effectiveness of

\*See Appendix for citation.

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totalitarian groups without seriously endangering democratic pressures for improvement of the economic and social structure of our country." Barrett says, "Perhaps a case can also be made for the Communists" and makes reference to an article by Gerald W. Johnson entitled "Why Communists Are Valuable," in Harper's Magazine for January, 1950.

Vern Countryman, associate professor of law at Yale Law School, wrote a book in the Cornell series, entitled, Un-American Activities in the State of Washington (1951). Countryman charged that the Canwell Committee, which conducted the investigation in the State of Washington, did more to subvert established legal processes than any of the subjects investigated by the Committee. He charged that it accomplished all of the activities which had been proscribed and which the Committee had been authorized to investigate. In June, 1953, Countryman was reported to be a member of the National Lawyers' Guild. \*

On March 4, 1954, Countryman testified before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security. He gave reasons why the Government should not and could not force registration of Communist action and front groups.

Countryman, in 1954, was a member of the national council of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC).

\*See Appendix for citation.

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In August, 1954, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a member of the national committee of the Communist Party, USA, referred to the ECLC as one of the "forces carrying on the defense of the Bill of Rights today."

Countryman was chairman of the legal committee of the New Haven Civil Liberties Council. A meeting in November, 1952, had as its purpose the raising of funds for the defense of Hyman Kaplan, who was threatened with deportation because of his past Communist activities.

The Daily Worker for November 26, 1952, reflected that Countryman signed a plea for clemency for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. On March 29, 1951, the Rosenbergs were convicted of conspiracy to commit espionage and were subsequently executed for this crime.

In April, 1952, Countryman and Fowler Harper, another Yale professor, wrote a series of articles in the daily and Sunday Compass, a New York newspaper. The articles, captioned "Mr. Justice Douglas Dissents," discussed the dissenting opinions of Justice Douglas concerning the McCarran Act and deportation, the loyalty case of Dorothy Bailey, who was dismissed from Government service, and the case of the eleven convicted Communist Party leaders. These articles generally defend Justice Douglas' dissenting opinions in these cases.

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The fifth book in the Cornell series, entitled Loyalty and Legislative Action (1951), was written by Lawrence H. Chamberlain, dean of Columbia College. This book purports to analyze thirty years of legislative control of subversive activity in the State of New York. Chamberlain characterizes two New York investigating committees as tarnished by hypocrisy and buffoonery and states that a third one may have exceeded its functions. Chamberlain strongly indicates that subversive activity is not a matter for investigation by legislative committees.

In 1952, Robert K. Carr, professor of law and political science at Dartmouth College, wrote The House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1945 - 1950, as part of the Cornell series. Carr minimizes the danger from Communism in this country and claims the only damage Communists can do is the criminal damage of espionage and sabotage. He concludes that the committee should be abolished and its work given to other established committees.

Carr was a member of an advisory committee to Walter Gellhorn in the preparation of the book Security, Loyalty and Science, and wrote one of several pamphlets disseminated by the League of Women Voters of the United States under a program called "Freedom Agenda," sponsored by the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, Inc., and financed by The Fund for the Republic.

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Carr has written favorable reviews of Telford Taylor's book, Grand Inquest, and Alan Barth's book, Government by Investigation.

Carr furnished a sworn affidavit on November 16, 1948, in behalf of the good character of William W. Remington during Remington's loyalty-review board hearing.

William W. Remington has been identified in the section dealing with the Fund's productions.

In 1953, the last book in the Cornell series was published. This was The Federal Loyalty-Security Program by Eleanor Bontecou.

In her book, Miss Bontecou characterizes the present period as an "unhappy era when witch hunting is prevalent and hysteria is easily induced." Although she admits there is a credit side to the loyalty-security program, she argues that the Attorney General has violated the accepted standards of due process in issuing his list; that there is unwise or clumsy administration of the loyalty order; and that the effect of the provision of the loyalty order which requires or permits the Attorney General to proscribe organizations has been to restrict freedom of association in areas entirely unrelated to Government employment. Miss Bontecou infers that the implementation of the loyalty and security programs could lead to

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the gradual attrition of our basic rights and liberties and she states that they must not be sacrificed with complacency.

### Faceless Informers and Our Schools

In the Fall of 1954, a pamphlet consisting of a series of articles appeared in the Denver Post entitled "Faceless Informers and Our Schools."

The author, Associate Editor Lawrence Martin, criticized the use of so-called "faceless informers" by state and Federal investigative agencies and decried the summary dismissal of school teachers in Colorado and elsewhere based on "anonymous, unevaluated and unsupported" charges of subversive connections received from such informers. The author did not raise the important point of whether or not the individuals were actually Communists, nor did he concern himself with the real evil--the failure of the state authorities to investigate the charges and to afford due process in making the dismissals.

### Government by Investigation

The Fund has distributed 850 copies of Alan Barth's book, Government by Investigation.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,  
May 31, 1955, p. 41

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In this book, Barth concludes that the congressional power to investigate has in the recent past been abused and needs to be restricted in behalf of individual rights and freedoms, as well as in behalf of the independence of foundations, funds, churches, universities, the press and related groups.

Fulton Lewis, Jr., in his column on May 23, 1955, stated that copies of Barth's book had been distributed to Federal judges. Lewis portrayed Barth as a defender of Alger Hiss, William Remington and J. Robert Oppenheimer.

Barth has been an editorial writer for The Washington Post\* since 1943, and in that time he has written numerous books, articles and editorials critical of congressional investigating committees, the Government's loyalty program and the FBI. Among them was a favorable book review of Max Lowenthal's book, The Federal Bureau of Investigation, which appeared in the December 4, 1950, issue of The New Republic. This book criticized the Government security program and the FBI.

Barth's book, The Loyalty of Free Men, published by the Viking Press in 1951, criticized the Government's security program and also loyalty oaths for teachers.

\*Now The Washington Post and Times Herald

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An article by Barth which was critical of the loyalty program, appeared in the February, 1952, issue of the Progressive Magazine. It was entitled the "Age of Doubt."

"How Good Is an FBI Report?" appeared in the March, 1954, issue of Harper's Magazine. This article criticized the Government's loyalty program and FBI reports. This criticism was answered by Senator Barry M. Goldwater of Arizona in a speech before the United States Senate on March 29, 1954, in which the false allegations contained in Barth's article were refuted.

The Baltimore Sun for May 25, 1954, reflected that Barth spoke at a meeting of the Maryland Civil Liberties Committee, a branch of the American Civil Liberties Union, on abuse of investigating powers by congressional committees.

Alan Barth's name appeared on the active indices of the American Peace Mobilization in February, 1941.\*

#### Grand Inquest

The Fund distributed 450 copies of Grand Inquest by Telford Taylor (1955).

Report of The Fund for the Republic,  
May 31, 1955, p. 41

\*See Appendix for citation.

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Taylor, in this book, condemns "loyalty committees" as a sort of "irregular and irresponsible security police force" which is fast becoming an "inquisition." He claims they inflict severe punishment "outside the due and regular processes of criminal law."

In July, 1954, Taylor was retained by Harry Bridges, west coast labor leader, against whom the Federal Government had brought denaturalization proceedings on the grounds that Bridges had been a member of the Communist Party before he was naturalized in 1945. Accounts of the trial of Bridges in The New York Times indicate that Taylor actually argued the case in Federal District Court as chief counsel for Bridges. In July, 1955, the United States Court in San Francisco ruled that the Government had not proved its charges.

The New York Times, July 14, 1954,  
July 30, 1955, August 4, 1955.

Taylor, who is now an attorney in New York City, admitted membership in the National Lawyers' Guild\* from 1935 to 1942. Taylor was reported to have been in contact or to have associated with the following individuals who have either been members of or closely associated with the Communist Party: Alger Hiss, Joseph Barnes, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Simon Gerson, Harry Bridges, Richard Sasuly and Mary Jane Keeney.

\*See Appendix for citation.

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On January 14, 1953, Kurt Ponger and Otto Verber were arrested by United States military authorities in Vienna, Austria, and were convicted of conspiracy to commit espionage in June, 1953. Both Ponger and Verber were on Taylor's staff when Taylor was a prosecutor at the War Crimes Trials in Nuremberg, Germany, from 1945 to 1948. Following his arrest, Ponger stated he would like to contact General Telford Taylor.

On a news broadcast on May 23, 1955, Fulton Lewis, Jr., pointed out that the United States Civil Service Commission had flagged Taylor's file with a code which meant "Unresolved Act on Loyalty."

Open Occupancy

"Open Occupancy" is the title of an article which appeared in the April, 1955, issue of House and Home. Fifteen thousand copies were distributed to the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing and to others in the race relations field.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,  
May 31, 1955, p. 41

This article is concerned with the question of peacefully, justly and intelligently settling racial difficulties as they relate to housing.

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See It Now

In connection with the interview of J. Robert Oppenheimer by Edward R. Murrow on the "See-It Now" television program, one hundred and ten 16 mm. prints of this interview were distributed by the Fund to educational institutions, civic organizations and local discussion groups.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,  
May 31, 1955, p. 41.

Congressman B. Carroll Reece, in his speech of July 21, 1955, previously referred to, stated as follows:

"In typical Ed Murrow fashion, the interview was a highly colored propaganda job to present to its viewers Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer as a genius, a towering figure in American science, who had been grossly abused and wrongfully accused of outrageous charges of which he was now and had always been, entirely innocent.

"Ignored entirely in this Ed Murrow Propaganda film were the details of the charges against Oppenheimer, including his own admissions that he lied repeatedly to security officers of the Manhattan District and the FBI regarding his contacts with the Soviet espionage agent, Haakon Chevalier, as well as other vital security matters."

George Sokolsky, in The Washington Post and Times Herald for February 15, 1955, wrote that "Mr. Murrow's telecast was obviously not designed to be objective; it was an opportunity for Dr. Oppenheimer to state his side and his side alone of a vexed question. To be objective,

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someone designated by the Atomic Energy Commission should have been present at the same time, to present the data available to the Commission upon which it caused the separation of Dr. Oppenheimer from that body."

The Fort Lauderdale (Florida) Daily News for September 3, 1955, commented that "Murrow's judgment may be questioned, but his right to 'star' a security risk on a nationwide program can not. But use of Fund for the Republic money to circulate transcriptions of the telecast to schools and other audiences is certainly a questionable foundation activity."

The Fund also distributed five 16 mm. prints of the "See It Now" television program on book censorship in California to Southern California civic groups. This program was critical of censorship of books in California.

In 1942, Edward Murrow, London correspondent for the Columbia Broadcasting System, was listed in an official bulletin of the organization as a sponsor for the Committee for the Care of Young Children in Wartime.\*

On April 13, 1943, the Milwaukee Sentinel stated that Edward R. Murrow was the English narrator for the Russian film, "Siege of Leningrad," an Artkino full length documentary film based on photographs taken by the Russians in 1941 and 1942.

\*See Appendix for citation.

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Records of the Foreign Agents Registration Section, United States Department of Justice, Washington, D. C., reflect that Artkino Pictures, Incorporated, 723 Seventh Avenue, New York City, is the registered agent of the following foreign principals for exclusive distribution of motion pictures throughout the United States:

Sovexportfilm - USSR  
Magyar Filmgyarto, M. V. - Budapest, Hungary  
Czechoslovak State Films, Prague, Czechoslovakia  
Sovromfilm, Bucharest, Rumania  
Centrala Wynajmu Filmow (Film Polski), Warsaw, Poland

An article appearing in The New York Times for March 13, 1954, entitled, "Murrow Replies--Defends '35 Role," related that Edward R. Murrow had stated the previous day that he would claim neither "ignorance nor youth" for having served on an advisory council for a summer session of Moscow University in 1935. In rebuttal to a charge made a few days before by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, Murrow said he was only one of twenty-five persons, most of whom were distinguished educators, who served on this advisory council. According to the article, Murrow was twenty-seven years old at the time and was assistant director of the Institute for International Education. The article said that the Institute for International Education was explained by Murrow to have "dealt primarily

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with the exchange of students and professors between this and foreign countries." He said that the board of trustees of the organization created the advisory council in 1935 for a proposed Moscow University Summer School, but the school was "abruptly and without satisfactory explanation cancelled" in the spring by the Russian authorities and no effort was made to revive the venture. According to the article, the Institute still functioned in New York City and Murrow was one of the trustees.

In 1949, Murrow was named as a reference on the passport application of Winston Mansfield Burdett. The New York Times for June 30, 1955, reflects that Burdett testified on June 29, 1955, before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (SISS), Washington, D. C., that he had been a Communist Party member from 1937 to 1942, and had engaged in espionage for Russia overseas. Burdett painted a dramatic and detailed picture of his spying for Russia in Finland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Turkey from 1940 to 1942.

Counterattack for March 19, 1954, stated that Murrow "went to bat for Radulovich in a very cleverly slanted program that produced no

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evidence that Radulovich had been judged wrongly." According to Counterattack, Lieutenant Milo Radulovich was an Air Force reserve officer who refused to resign his commission when asked to do so because it was decided that he was not a good security risk although his loyalty was not questioned.

"Strong in Their Pride and Free"

Three thousand copies of a speech by former Senator Harry P. Cain entitled "Strong in Their Pride and Free" were distributed by the Fund.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,  
May 31, 1955, p. 42

In this speech, among other things, Cain defends the use of the Fifth Amendment by Communists or others who do not wish to testify against their own interests. He also comments on security boards, informants and the organizations on the Attorney General's

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"current subversive list."

As a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board, Cain, on March 18, 1955, criticized the Federal security system and called for a prompt liquidation of the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations. On that date, Cain urged that a clean bill on security be given to anyone who had been a member of any of the 250 proscribed groups - with the exception of the Communist Party - and had resigned before the list was first made public in 1947.

The Daily Worker for March 29, 1955, contained an article which reflected that Cain had said the Attorney General's "subversive list" will destroy the American way of life if allowed to remain unchallenged.

The New York Times for May 24, 1955, stated that on the previous day, Cain had denounced the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations as a "vastly misleading security measure."

The Los Angeles Mirror-News for June 27, 1955, reflected that Cain, in a press conference, stated that because the Federal Government

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had become so wrapped up in security programs, it was getting a lot of Government employees who were "drones and dunderheads. ""... If I had my choice, I would rather be indicted by a grand jury for the most heinous crime - murder, rape or what have you - than be accused in an administrative proceeding of being disloyal or a poor security risk. At least I would have a better chance of proving my innocence and protecting my name and reputation. "

The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born\* promoted the observance of National "Americans All" Week to be observed from October 21 to October 28, 1941. The organization's letter which made this announcement carried a list of 123 sponsors. Included in the list of sponsors was Mayor Harry P. Cain, Tacoma, Washington.

The Fifth Amendment Today

The Fund distributed 35,000 copies of Erwin N. Griswold's book The Fifth Amendment Today to the bench and bar.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,  
May 31, 1955, p. 42

This book consists of three speeches given by Griswold, who is dean of the Harvard Law School. Griswold defends the use of the

\*See Appendix for citation.

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privilege against self-incrimination embodied in the Fifth Amendment as a symbol of the tradition of individual liberty in this country. He says, "In protecting ourselves from the threat of Communism, we should not adopt methods of oppression here which the Communists themselves would use."

Fulton Lewis, Jr., in a radio broadcast on September 7, 1955, revealed that whereas the Fund had purchased 35,000 copies of Griswold's book and had distributed them to lawyers and judges throughout the country, it bought only 500 copies of a pamphlet reprint of an article in the Fordham Law Review by C. Dickerman Williams which took issue with Griswold. Lewis said that later, in response to requests, about 2,000 additional copies had been printed.

#### The Kept Witnesses

The Fund distributed to labor officials and business executives 25,000 copies of an article by Richard H. Rovere entitled "The Kept Witnesses," which appeared in the May, 1955, issue of Harper's Magazine. Rovere has been a contributing editor to this magazine since 1949.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,  
May 31, 1955, p. 42

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Rovere's article omits any comment upon witnesses who have testified against members of the extreme "right-wing" or "native fascist" groups.

Rovere infers that men and women who furnish the FBI information are exempt from security clearance. In this, he is in error for no clearance of any kind is given to them by the FBI. The truth is that regular FBI informants are carefully investigated before the regular acceptance of information is effected. Where there are any indications that a source of information is unreliable or has serious character defects, his services and information are unacceptable to the FBI.

Rovere refers to a William Garfield Cummings as "an FBI agent." His error here is as pronounced as his errors elsewhere in the article. Cummings was never an agent of the FBI.

The Newark Star Ledger for October 4, 1955, carried an article reporting that J. Edgar Hoover and Assistant United States Attorney General Tompkins had "lashed out at critics of the nation's security program, with an article reprinted by the Fund for the Republic receiving special attention." Tompkins stated that the article, "The Kept Witnesses," was completely without foundation in fact and hardly suggested

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"a high journalistic standard." Tompkins, it stated, accused the author, Richard H. Rovere, of making baseless and uninformed statements about the Government's confidential informant system. The newspaper article went on to state that a spokesman for The Fund for the Republic subsequently stated that officers and directors of the Fund thought the Rovere article "was a good piece covering the area in which we are interested," and when asked if they could vouch for its accuracy stated, "We don't vouch for anything."

In the column, "The Editor's Opinion," appearing in the same newspaper on the same date, the following comments were made:

"The spokesman for the Fund insists it did not vouch for the article's accuracy. This is sheer quibbling. It is obvious enough that anyone receiving the article from the Fund will think that this is the Fund's own point of view.

"It seems to us that this is highly irresponsible behavior for an organization which claims to be seeking the truth. It is especially irresponsible when the material in question is a bitter and highly-colored attack on the United States Government.

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"The Fund has a responsibility to make an effort to determine the truth of the material which it disseminates. It has a responsibility to try to learn the other side of the case.

"As J. Edgar Hoover put it yesterday:

"Those now furthering the campaign of vituperation against witnesses say the Communist menace is a myth created by those who testify against it. They refused to recognize the Communist enslavement of one-third of the world's people and one-fourth of the world's surface."

Rovere was an associate editor of New Masses\* in 1938-1939.

Who's Who in America, 1954-1955

It has been reported that in 1938, while Rovere was at Bard College in Annandale-on-Hudson, New York, then a branch of Columbia University, he was a member of the Young Communist League (YCL)\* and later became a member of the Communist Party. The same source indicated, however, that Rovere disaffiliated himself from the Communist Party in 1939 and no longer had any sympathy for that organization.

Rovere has confirmed this information. He has said that during his college days, he had considered himself a Communist but could not honestly state whether he had ever had a Communist Party card in his possession.

\*See Appendix for citation.

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In April, 1943, another Government agency reported that in an interview with a representative of that agency, Rovere had stated he was at one time a rabid Communist but withdrew from the Communist Party when the Russian-Nazi Pact was signed.

### The Pseudo-Conservative Revolt

The Fund distributed 25,000 copies of an article which appeared in The American Scholar entitled "The Pseudo-Conservative Revolt" by Richard Hofstadter. This article was distributed to business executives, educators and churchmen.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,  
May 31, 1955, p. 42

Hofstadter, who is a professor of history at Columbia University, believes that twenty years ago the dynamic force in political life in the United States came from liberal dissent. Today, he believes it is "a dynamic of dissent" coming from pseudo-conservatives. Needless to say, Hofstadter does not approve of pseudo-conservatism and is convinced that it has passed its peak and is on the wane.

George Sokolsky, in his column of June 22, 1955, remarked:

"Professor Richard Hofstadter of Columbia University is having a tough time translating himself into a conservative. Apparently

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the cult of liberalism is proving as unpopular in the 1950's as the cult of fellow-travelling proved to be in the late 1940's. Men who live by labels often discover that their thinking has run away from the labels, so the liberal calls himself a conservative, and Professor Hofstadter calls conservatives 'pseudo-conservatives,' whatever that may mean. He tries to tell what it means in a long article in 'The American Scholar' but gets into an interesting tangle. For instance, he makes this point:

"... After 20 years, the New Deal liberals have quite unconsciously taken on the psychology of those who have entered into possession. Moreover, a large part of the New Deal public, the jobless, distracted and bewildered men of 1933, have in the course of the years found substantial places in society for themselves, have become homeowners, suburbanites and solid citizens...."

"So, when Professor Hofstadter worries about the 'punitive reaction' of those whom he calls pseudo-conservatives, he talks nonsense. There is no such thing. He may be worried about a general desire to kick all Communists and their friends in the teeth, but that has to do with another subject."

The Washington Post and Times Herald,  
June 22, 1955

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To Insure the End of Our Hysteria

The Fund distributed 10,000 copies of an article by Paul G. Hoffman, which appeared in the magazine section of The New York Times for November 14, 1954, entitled "To Insure the End of Our Hysteria." It was distributed to the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and to the American Dental Association. Hoffman is chairman of the board of directors of The Fund for the Republic.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,  
May 31, 1955, p. 42

Hoffman is of the opinion that fear has been engendered in the minds of American citizens to a serious degree as a result of methods taken to combat Communism. He believes it is lessening, but is afraid that this is only temporary. Hoffman believes that the natural basis for some of the hysteria relates to espionage conducted in the United States, and he thinks that this contributed to a situation resulting in a retreat from fundamental principles and sound security conduct.

It is interesting to note that Hoffman's conclusions in regard to the pervasive influence of this fear and his conclusions as to the extent of the influence of congressional committees appear to be invalidated by the findings set forth in Samuel A. Stouffer's book, Communism, Conformity,

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and Civil Liberties, which has been described in a previous section dealing with productions of the Fund. It would seem that the findings of this survey leave open to doubt the extent of influence which congressional committees do have on public opinion, as well as the extent of the alleged "fear" and "hysteria" which the public is said to have suffered and is suffering from as a result of loyalty and security measures and investigations directed against Communists in the United States.

To Make Our Security System Secure

The Fund distributed 10,000 copies of an article written by Vannevar Bush entitled "To Make Our Security System Secure." This article appeared in the magazine section of The New York Times for March 20, 1955, and was sent to educators.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,  
May 31, 1955, p. 42

Bush refers to the "recent witch hunt," which he states was concentrated on scientists. He states that the present system of loyalty clearance has been used "for spite and for thought control" and is so defective that "a new system should be built from the ground up. . . ."

Who "Collaborated" with Russia?

The Fund distributed to the National Civil Liberties Clearing House 600 copies of an article by Paul Willen entitled "Who 'Collaborated'

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With Russia?" This article appeared in the Fall, 1954, issue of the Antioch Review.

Report of The Fund for the Republic,  
May 31, 1955, p. 42

Willen attempts to show in his article that an almost universal pro-Russian sentiment prevailed in the United States during World War II; therefore, he indicates that no one person or group should be singled out and criticized for being pro-Russian or responsible for others being pro-Russian.

In 1949, Willen, while a student at Oberlin College, was one of the organizers of a group called "Arch Seven." This group was reported to hold meetings devoted to political discussions of Marxism and related subjects.

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PART III

COMPLETED PRODUCTIONS

(September 10, 1955 to January 1, 1956)

COMPLETED STUDIES AND PROJECTS

Case Studies in Personnel Security

✓ Adam Yarmolinsky, who in January, 1955, completed the "Case Studies in Personnel Security," under a \$25,000 grant from the Fund, advised at a press conference on 9/15/55 that "our study of the trials of the security cases indicated that the accused employees who had the most skilled attorneys were able to beat the charges and get their positions back, while employees with less-skilled defenders were usually fired." He added that the whole question of the Government Loyalty and Security Program, which is being conducted behind closed doors, is in need of orderly review. (72965, "Los Angeles Times," 100-331637-A)

In October, 1955, the Bureau received information from a reliable confidential source to the effect that Yarmolinsky in making the survey which resulted in his booklet "Case Studies in Personnel Security," had sent out a memorandum for interviewers dated 9/11/55 and a general outline to be used in preparing histories of the cases written up which were involved in the Federal Employees Security Program.

According to the source the Fund paid the so-called interviewers, who were attorneys, \$5 per hour while they were engaged in preparing the case write-ups. Yarmolinsky, in personal correspondence with attorneys he was soliciting to participate in the program, stated "This study is intended primarily for use by a committee organized by the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, under a grant from the Fund, in order to make recommendations for changes in the operation of these programs. It consists of accounts of cases involving Government employees, industrial workers and merchant seamen, arising under the various Federal personnel security programs."

It is noted that the Bureau previously received from a confidential source, a memorandum over the signature of R. T. Ferry, Vice President of the Fund, which was addressed to the Association of the Bar of the City of New York and outlined the scope and method in which the study is to be handled.

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From the above information it appears that the Fund has pulled a hoax on the American public in that they get the Bar Association of New York City to make a survey and finance it; then the Fund through its own employee, Adam Yarnolinsky, goes out and gets the case write-ups which will be presented to the Association of the Bar of the City of New York who will then make their recommendations. (Memorandum, Nichols to Tolson, 10/22/55; 100-391697-263)

### The Draftees and Internal Security

In November, 1954, Rowland Tatts, national secretary of the Workers Defense League, was among those who received a grant-in-aid from the Fund for a study of "undesirable" discharges given drafted servicemen by the Army based on pre-induction activities and associations. Tatts completed his study in August, 1955.

According To 11/18/55 "New York Times Herald"

Tatts testified before a hearing of the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights in Washington, D. C., on 11/18/55, at which time he assailed the Army for denying honorable discharges to some draftees because of objects to their past associations. Tatts charged that the practice "imposes punishment without conviction for a crime." He called this "unconstitutional and unconscionable." (100-391697-A)

Tatts added that he had examined more than two hundred cases of draftees who were denied honorable discharges because of their associations, however remote, with persons or organizations believed to be subversive. He stated this "stigmatizes" these draftees for life. He asserted that they do not get a fair hearing and that the armed services should revise their procedures drastically "to cut the many injustices." Tatts stated that the Army is using the same policies the Government uses in civilian employee cases, the difference being that Government employment is a privilege and service in the Army is a duty for the draftee. (Washington City News Service, 11/18/55; 100-391697-A)

### Bibliography On The Communist Problem In The United States

By way of background, the Fund in June, 1953, appropriated \$64,500 for a study of public records concerning Communism, under the direction of Professor Arthur L. Sutherland of the Harvard Law School. Two books were published by the Fund in January, 1955; the "Bibliography on the Communist Problem in the United States" and the "Digest of the Public Record of Communism in the United States." Both books have been reviewed by the Central Research Section. These books

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were distributed by the Fund to libraries, educational institutions, and Government agencies. Clinton Rossiter, Cornell University professor, was included in the committee which prepared these studies.

Subsequent to its distribution the "Bibliography" received considerable criticism in the press from scholars and writers claiming that important anti-Communist works had been omitted. Among them are the following:

Philip Taft, professor of economics at Brown University stated, "You deserve a note of thanks from the Communist Party. For non-Communists, it is an outrageous performance."

James F. Farrell, novelist and chairman of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom, charged the writers with "incalculable sloppiness."

John A. Sessions, assistant director of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, charged that instead of directing future research workers to "the most significant available materials," the Fund's bibliography could only have the opposite effect of directing them away from some of the "most telling indictments of Communist methods." [It is noted that according to the press, Sessions made these criticisms although he was then working on another Fund project, a study of Communist front groups.]

David Freeman, <sup>then</sup> secretary of the Fund, <sup>announced on 10-28-55</sup> stated that the Fund has decided to revise its "Bibliography" to correct some of their mistakes and will include works of some of the outstanding anti-Communist writers. This review will be carried out by Clinton Rossiter. [100-391697-A; 10/23/55 issues of "New York Times," "Boston Post," "New York Journal-American," "Washington Post and Times Herald," "Washington News," and "New York World Telegram and Sun."] (100-391697-A)

The above criticisms of John A. Sessions are also reflected in an article written by him appearing in the October 31, 1955, issue of "The New Leader," entitled "A Misleading Guide to United States Communism." In addition to the above criticisms, Sessions stated that the omission of anti-Communist references in the Fund's "Bibliography" could have been caused by two things: That the book resulted from incompetence or that somehow the "anti-anti-Communist" attitude has touched this work. Sessions recommended that this bibliography be redone.

With further reference to the above article, [redacted]

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The 11/1/55, "Boston American" newspaper, contains an editorial entitled "The Fund's Book Boomerangs," which is critical of the Fund and the bibliography. The editorial states that "the slanted bibliography is among the other slanted activities of the Fund... until the bibliography is thoroughly revised, we propose it should be withdrawn from use by the libraries and institutions to which it has been sent."

An editorial entitled "Funny Business in a Fund," appearing in the 11/8/55 issue of the "Chicago Tribune" newspaper, states in part "... a question remains--why the Fund for the Republic, with a large budget allocated to a supposed objective study of Communism, always contrives to wind up on the anti-anti-Communist side."

Fulton Lewis, Jr., on his 11/3/55 broadcast stated that he was successful in interviewing the two individuals who did the original research on the "Bibliography." He identified these individuals as Russell L. Brenneman, Jr., and his wife Frederica, both of whom are members of the District of Columbia Bar. According to Lewis, the Brennemens indicated that they were hired by the staff director of the project shortly after their graduation from Harvard in 1953. They were originally instructed to do a pilot survey to see if there were already in existence some bibliographies on the subject of Communism and to determine how extensive a job it would be to prepare such a bibliography. They later reported to the staff director (Charles E. Corker,) who, according to Lewis was just out of a mental hospital in California, and the Brennemens decided to go on with the

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project. Some of their work was done at the Library of Congress and some at Harvard. They received no specific instructions and went ahead with their work making cards on every reference to every phase of Communism they could find. They reportedly used no editorial selectivity and turned all of this material over to the staff director. They do not know what happened to the cards after that and kept no record of the cards they turned in.

Bureau files reflect no derogatory information concerning the Brennans. Frederica Brennan is presently employed as an attorney for the Antitrust Division of the Department. Her husband Russell, is on temporary duty with the United States Army at the Judge Advocate General's Office in the Pentagon. (100-331637-273)

DISSEMINATION OF FALSE, ABUSIVE, AND OTHER MATERIAL

✓ On his September 21, 1955, broadcast, Fulton Lewis, Jr., stated that the Fund distributed a document purporting to be a "Report on Security Problems" released by the Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Government Operations. This report, which was distributed to Federal Judges throughout the United States in August, 1955, was an attack on the security system of the Federal Government. According to Lewis the main part of the document is a copy of a portion of the Congressional Record of 8/27/55. However, the report included a statement made by Senator Robert Taft, which was critical of the Government's security system. This statement was erroneously labeled to indicate that it was the official report of the Subcommittee and not Senator Humphrey's statement. When Senator Humphrey learned of this action he called the Fund and pointed this out. The Fund, according to Lewis, thereafter sent out cards to the recipients of the report retracting the portion labeling the document as the report of the Subcommittee and advising that it was merely an independent statement made by Senator Humphrey. (06-4-2172-20)

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### PART III

#### COMPLETED PRODUCTIONS

(January 1, 1956, to March 31, 1956)

#### COMPLETED STUDIES AND PROJECTS

##### Case Studies in Personnel Security

In January, 1955, Adam Yarmolinsky, a member of the Fund's staff, completed a survey of the Government's security programs, under a \$65,000 grant from the Fund. He published the results in a booklet entitled "Case Studies in Personnel Security," which includes a summary of fifty case histories processed under various Federal personnel security programs. An analysis of these case histories was made by the Employees Security Section. The analysis revealed that thirty-one of these cases involved civilian Government employees. Remaining nineteen relate to other security programs, principally the program covering industrial employees. Pursuant to the Department's request, various governmental agencies have reviewed Yarmolinsky's survey and have identified the cases involving employees with their agency. Twenty-seven such cases have been identified to date. Comments from the Government agencies indicate that Yarmolinsky's survey contains a number of inaccurate, misleading and incomplete statements. These tend to present the Government's position in an unfavorable light. No criticism of the Bureau is contained in Yarmolinsky's material. (Memoranda, Stanley to Rosen 12-2-55 and 2-3-56; 62-101860-23)

##### Bibliography on the Communist Problem in the United States

By way of background the Fund in June, 1953, appropriated \$64,500 for a study of public records concerning communism. The results were published in two books in January, 1955, entitled "Bibliography on the Communist Problem in the United States" and the "Digest of the Public Record of Communism in the United States." Both books have been reviewed by the Central Research Section.

The above-mentioned books were the subject of an article entitled "Spotlight on the Communist Problem," which appeared in the December 15, 1955, issue of the "Harvard Law School Record," published at Harvard University. This article sets forth considerable detail regarding the nature and type of information that has been included in the above books together with the identities of the respective authors quoted. It commends the Fund and Professor Arthur E. Sutherland of Harvard University, who was in charge of the project for publishing these works which are described as "useful tools for students and scholars interested in the phenomena of American communism."

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## PART III

COMPLETED INVESTIGATIONS

(April 1, 1955, to June 30, 1955)

COMPLETED STUDIES AND PROJECTSFederal Loyalty-Security Program

A Photostat of a galley-proof of a study of the "Federal Loyalty-Security Program," by the Special Committee of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York was obtained by Mr. Nichols from the Department on 5/20/55. The report was analyzed by the Employee Security Section and the results were set forth in a memorandum from Mr. Stanley to Mr. Rosen dated 6/1/55. In addition the results were furnished to the Attorney General by Bureau letter 6/4/55.

Briefly the report deals specifically with the administrative and adjudicative processes of the various Federal Personnel Security Programs rather than investigative functions. Only two inaccuracies were noted reflecting on the Bureau's investigative operations and these were brought to the attention of the Attorney General, by Bureau letter 6/4/55, with the suggestion that he may desire to call these inaccuracies to the attention of the Committee of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York for correction. (62-102015-31)

The "National Republic" issue of April, 1955, in an article entitled "The Attack on Our Security Program" by Dr. Anthony T. Denacora makes reference to the Fund for the Republic. The article reports that "in spite of the fact that the loyalty and security program has uncovered many prominent American public officials as having undoubted loyalty to the United States, or as constituting a security risk, and in spite of the increasing Soviet threat to America, the loyalty and security program, as well as anticommunist legislation, is under greater fire today than ever before." As examples the article pointed out that the September 16, 1955, issue of the "Daily Worker" named 500 prominent Americans who urged the Supreme Court to declare unconstitutional the Internal Security Act of 1950. According to the article the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights seems to have been encouraging witnesses who are hostile to the loyalty and security program and are attempting to discredit it and the FBI.

The article points out that the Fund for the Republic is launching a one-sided campaign to smear the Government investigation of communism and security risks. This article refers to the Fund as a group

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whose main effort is directed not against communism but against anticommunism.

[redacted] advised the Bureau on 5/21/56 on a confidential basis that at the American Bar Association convention, Philadelphia, last year, the Criminal Section officers declined to approve a suggestion for a discussion of the loyalty-security procedures in the Armed Forces in connection with a discussion of the administration of criminal justice. b7D

[redacted] advised that for more than a year Adam Yarmolinsky, who was present at the criminal law session last year, had been attempting on behalf of the Fund for the Republic to bring the loyalty-security subject up before the Criminal Law Section, obviously to use it as a sounding board. [redacted] stated that it appears that this matter will again come up for discussion, which would resolve itself into a debate with considerable publicity. [redacted] is opposed to the Criminal Law Section being used as a sounding board for the civil rights people. b7D

[redacted] (100-391697)

#### Blacklisting in Private Industry

In September, 1954, the Fund authorized \$100,000 for a study of alleged blacklisting in the motion picture, radio and television industries, under the direction of John Cogley.

On June, 24, 1956, the Fund for the Republic announced the completion of the above-mentioned study by Cogley in a two-volume report. The Fund says that blacklisting of entertainers is wide spread in the movie, radio and television industries, however, the practice is much less prevalent in the theatre. According to the report blacklisting is "almost universally accepted as a fact of life" in Hollywood. The report said, "all the studios are now unanimous in their refusal to hire persons identified as Communist Party members who have not subsequently testified in full before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The studios are equally adamant about not hiring witnesses who have relied upon the Fifth Amendment before Congressional Committees."

The report said that blacklisting is "more complicated" in the radio and television fields than in Hollywood. In radio-TV the report said, "advertising agencies, networks, program packagers and sponsors all have a voice in deciding who will be used. The result is a multiplicity of lists and procedures, different policies on different networks, the creation of a secret and labyrinthine world of political screening."

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In a preface to the report, Paul Hoffman, chairman of the board of the Fund commented "Mr. Cogley has tried to give a detailed picture of a situation as it exists. He has brought in no indictments and has offered no recommendations." (6/25/56, Washington Star, 100-391697-A)

Bureau files fail to reflect any pertinent information concerning Cogley.

It is noted that, <sup>according to</sup> an item appearing in the 5/5/56 issue of "The Nation," Elizabeth Poe, a Los Angeles, California, writer, had recently completed the study of the political blacklisting in the motion picture industry for the Fund. Bureau files fail to reflect any pertinent information concerning Poe.

Frederick Woltman, columnist, in an article appearing in the June 25, 1956, issue of the "Washington News," stated that the entire radio-TV industry took a shellacking in the Fund's real test on the issue of communism. Woltman, referring to Cogley's report on blacklisting, stated that while in no wise procommunist, the report cannot help but bring joy and comfort to the communists. He stated that a careful reading of the report leaves these conclusions. (1) It can only throw confusion on a major problem of the industry which already has been straightening itself out. (2) By the use of loaded expressions throughout and the selection and grouping of some facts and the omission of more salient facts, it gives a distorted and often false picture. (3) Because its author, John Cogley, rubber stamps the basic philosophy of the Fund's president Robert M. Hutchins (that the Communist Party is a legitimate political party and not a criminal conspiracy), the entire slant of the report runs counter to the main stream of American thought today. (100-391697)

With reference to Cogley's report on blacklisting, Senator Karl E. Mundt, stated on 6/25/56 that this report "gives aid and comfort to communists in this country and abroad." Mundt in a Senate speech stated that it was "tremendously disquieting" that the Fund's tax-exempt money "is being used to discredit activities engaged in by Americans trying to free themselves of the dangers of the communist menace." Mundt said he has written the Internal Revenue Commissioner Harrington for his reaction to the Fund's tax-exempt status "in view of its constantly notorious reputation for propaganda." (Washington City News Service, 6/25/56, 100-391697-A)

On 6/28/56, Chairman Francis E. Walter of the HCUA announced that his committee has subpoenaed Cogley to appear July 10, and discuss

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his report on "blacklisting." The Congressman said that he wants Cogley to appear in executive session and to give him the names of the entertainers blacklisted and the names of the people who were doing the blacklisting. Cogley's report did not list names. Walter said that the report "levels very grave charges against organizations and persons in the entertainment industry whose efforts have been directed toward eliminating the menace of the communist conspiracy in the United States."

A spokesman for the Fund said that Cogley's report simply presents the facts on blacklisting practices in the entertainment industry. It does not level any charges nor express any opinions. Nevertheless, the spokesman said Cogley will comply with the committee's summons.

Regarding the HCUA's subpoena, Cogley stated on 6/29/56 that he does not think it is "right" for the committee to question him regarding his "confidential sources of information." He said he was "stunned" when he received the subpoena but that he would answer it. (Washington City News Service, 6/28/56, 6/29/56, 100-391697-A)

An editorial appearing in the 6/27/56 <sup>"New York</sup> Journal-American" criticized the Fund's report on blacklisting as further conclusive evidence of the Fund's anti-anticommunist thinking and activities. According to the editorial the report is not impartial and factual as claimed by the Fund. It is a "subtle and sometimes not so subtle attack on the efforts of the radio, television and motion picture industries to keep communists and communist camp followers out of their fields of communication. (100-391697-A)

Fulton Lewis, Jr., on his broadcast 7/1/56 described the Fund's report on blacklisting as "one of its most blatantly anti-anticommunist effusions yet." Lewis said, like many of the Fund's documents it is written in carefully selected verbiage intended to create a mask of objectivity and impartiality. But its whole tenor is that it is heinous to object to spending our entertainment dollars or to object to sponsors spending their TV or radio advertising dollars for the financial betterment of communists or their sympathizers. (94-4-2189)

An editorial appearing in the June 27, 1956, issue of the "Washington News" states that the Fund's report on blacklisting apparently sees anticommunism as a greater menace than communism. According to the editorial, the report claims that an unspecified number of persons were denied employment in radio and television because of "political affiliations" or "past political associations." The editorial claims that like its president, Robert M. Hutchins, the Fund "does not distinguish between political activity and the communist conspiracy."

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The editorial asserts that nowhere in the report is there anything about how many unfairly have been denied TV or radio jobs. Most of the alleged "victims" are unnamed, and so are the sources of information. "Considering Mr. Hutchins' avowed distaste for faceless informers, that's an ironic commentary." The Fund, the editorial states, vouches for the "integrity of the authors and the importance of their studies." But it specifically does not vouch for "their selection of facts or for the accuracy of their statements." The editorial in conclusion stated that the report "smacks more of boondoggling than usefulness." (100-391697-A)

#### DISTRIBUTION OF BOOKS, ARTICLES AND OTHER MATERIAL

On May 10, 1956, Hutchins announced that the Fund will finance and distribute 50,000 copies of a Department of Defense pamphlet entitled "Who Are the Communists and Why?" (New York Daily News, 5/10/56)

The above-mentioned pamphlet, which was issued on December 8, 1955, for the Department of Defense, has been reviewed by the Central Research Section. The pamphlet treats such topics as the motivation for joining the Communist Party, the hard-core member, the rank-and-file member, appeals of communism, communists as maladjusted persons, the idealists, chronic protesters, et cetera. The pamphlet concludes that no matter what the reasons are for persons joining the Communist Party, "they are all corrupt." They have sold out their own countries and their own souls to help spread the tyranny of Soviet communism over the whole world." (Memo 5-10-56, 100-391697-7)

The "Harpers" magazine article "The Kept Witnesses," reprinted and distributed by the Fund, was circulated in the vicinity of Seattle, Washington, during the period about July-September, 1955, bearing the rubber stamp impression, "Civil Rights Congress, 501 Second and Pike Building, Seattle, Washington." [redacted] 61-10149, 5199, Page 11)

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PART III

COMPLETED PROJECTS

(July 1, 1956, to September 30, 1956)

COMPLETED STUDIES AND PROJECTS

Blacklisting in Private Industry

In September, 1954, the Fund authorized \$100,000 for a study of alleged blacklisting in the motion picture, radio, and television industries under the direction of John Cogley, a member of the Fund's staff. On 6-24-56 the Fund announced that the study had been completed. The Bureau has obtained a copy of Cogley's report in two volumes, a review of which appears in the previous revision of this running memorandum.

According to the "Washington News" and other Washington, D. C., newspapers, the HCUA held its hearings on the Fund's "Report on Blacklisting" at Washington, D. C., 7/10-13/56 and at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on 7/17, 18/56. According to newspaper accounts, various witnesses denied that they had formed a "clearance board" for blacklisted individuals as claimed in Cogley's report. These witnesses also claimed that the report contained incomplete facts, created a false and distorted impression, and omitted much basic material. Cogley refused to reveal the identity of his sources of information. Others who testified during the hearings were: Arnold Forster, general counsel of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith; James P. O'Neill, former national commander of the American Legion; Frederick Holtman, columnist; Vincent Hartnatt, New York radio and TV consultant; Francis Hollomara, now engaged in Americanism work for the Veterans of Foreign Wars; Roy M. Bremer, former Hollywood labor leader; Godfrey P. Schmidt, New York attorney and president of Aware, Inc., anticommunist organization; Paul R. Hilton, a radio writer; Gale Condergaard, actress; and Jack Gilford, actor. George Sokolsky, columnist, was unable to attend the hearing but issued a statement which was read by the committee on 7-11-56. At the conclusion of the hearings Chairman Walter of the HCUA stated that the committee found Cogley's report to be worthless and that there was no evidence developed to indicate blacklisting or clearances in the entertainment industry. (100-391697-A)

(100-391697-391, 405, 406, 418, 436)

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actual reports  
by Cogley

published  
HCUA Testimony

series 436 + 440

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The Fund's "Report on Blacklisting," as well as the HCUA's hearing on the report received considerable criticism from various individuals and organizations. In addition to those set forth in the previous revision of instant running memorandum, the following are noted;

Victor Diesel in his syndicated column on 6/26/56 was highly critical of the Fund and its blacklisting report for refusing to identify the anonymous informers used in the preparation of the report. Diesel also questioned why the Government is painted in the image of a cantina-land when it attempts to protect the security system which is designed to head off spies. (Diesel is referring to the Government's use of confidential informants.) (CC-2542-S-A)

According to an article appearing in the 6/30/56 issue of "New York World Telegram and Sun," Hutchins refused to produce the unnamed informant on whom the Fund's blacklisting report relied when it said a powerful "clearance ring" can give or withhold jobs of suspected communists in the radio and TV industry. (This individual was identified during the HCUA hearings on the report as Arnold Forster, mentioned previously.)

Frederick Woltman, author of the article, denied the statement in the Fund's report linking him with the "clearance ring." Woltman stated that Hutchins, a long-time foe of the "faceless informers" in Government security cases, stood on the proposition it is entirely proper for the Fund to keep their sources of information confidential. Woltman mentioned that, in addition, John Cogley, the author of the report, had refused to identify his sources. (100-309386-A)

According to the 7/2/56 issue of "The New York Times," J. Addington Wagner, then commander of the American Legion, criticized the "Report on Blacklisting" as an utterly ridiculous and highly melodramatic recital. He also stated that Hutchins "is not only uninstructed on the subject of communism, but his mind seems to be impervious to any understanding of the communist menace." (100-301697-A)

Fulton Lewis, Jr., on his 7/3/56 broadcast stated that he was then in the process of reviewing the Fund's "Report on Blacklisting" and it was typical of the Fund for the Republic. He said the whole report was guilty of vagrancy, "meaning it had no means of support." Lewis said that Cogley claimed that a body of security men forced a board and are in league with the advertising men. These security men

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will cut off an artist when there is any indication of subversive activities. Lewis in his broadcast 7-6-56 in referring to the alleged security men stated that both Woltman and Sokolaky, who were named in Cogley's report as forming a clearance board, have denied that any such set up ever existed. (94-4-2189)

Robert Hutchins on 7-10-56 made public his letter to Representative Walter of HCUA protesting the methods being used by the Committee in investigating the Fund. Hutchins charged that Walter intended to examine the Fund "on a piecemeal basis." He demanded equal time to cross-examine witnesses against the Fund and to present his own witnesses. He also asked that the Committee give consideration to the Fund's "Three-Year Report." (Distributed on 6-25-56) and to submit any questions about it to the Fund's Board of Directors. (Washington City News Service, 7-11-56; 100-391697-A)

The 7-10-56 issue of the "Washington Post and Times Herald" contained an editorial entitled "Intimidation by Inquiry," which was critical of the HCUA's action of subpoenaing Cogley to answer questions regarding his blacklisting report. The editorial stated that the Committee's action constitutes a serious abridgment of the freedom of the press and that no writer should be made to reveal names he has undertaken to keep in confidence. (100-391697-A)

An editorial appearing in the 7-13-56 issue of "Commonweal," a lay-Catholic magazine, protested the Committee's subpoena of Cogley, claiming that Representative Walter admitted he had not read Cogley's report, yet subpoenaed him to testify regarding it. The editorial stated that if Walter had read the report he would have found that Cogley's purpose was "to tell the truth." (Washington City News Service, 7-6-56; 100-391697-A)

Representative Walter of the HCUA in a speech on 7-12-56 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, stated that the "Report on Blacklisting" was "about as partisan and prejudiced as it is possible to be." He said that the report considers membership in the communist conspiracy as a "political belief" and tries to create the impression that people are being penalized for "beliefs . . . by a machinery of persecution which has a bunch of crackpots at the controls." Mr. Walter added, "Its total is to blacken the name of every organization and every individual who has sincerely and patriotically been



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engaged in trying to get rid of communist conspirators in the movies and on radio and television." He stated that the Committee's long study of communist infiltration in the entertainment field has turned up no evidence of a blacklist or the existence of "clearance men" in security matters. ("Washington Star," 7-13-56; 100-391697-A)

The 7-13-56 issue of the "Washington News" contained an editorial stating that the Fund's "Report on Blacklisting" was exposed "for what it was--a fraud conceived in pool-hall morality and executed with grossly questionable scholarship." The editorial added that testimony during the HCUA hearing on the report exposed the report as a "shabby juggle of distortions, essential untruths and calculated omissions." (100-391697-A)

A. Philip Randolph, international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, in a letter to Chairman Walter of the HCUA, defended the Fund. He said the Fund is helping to finance causes which are "fundamental to the leadership of the democratic forces of the world by the U. S. against Russian Soviet communism." He said that his union hopes "that nothing will be done that may impair the usefulness of this valuable and important movement." (Washington City News Service, 7-16-56; 100-391697-A)

Fulton Lewis, Jr., in his syndicated column 7-24-56 stated that the logic of the liberal left against purported blacklisting of pink entertainers is strained, to say the least. Their theory, he claims, appears to embrace two points: (1) It is utterly wrong to refuse employment to actors and others in the entertainment world simply because they serve communist purposes. (2) It is perfectly all right to discourage individuals from doing business with sincere pro-Americans whose crime is objecting to having any of their money benefit Reds or their sympathizers." (94-4-2169)

Frederick Woltman, columnist, advised Mr. Nichols on 7-25-56 that as a result of an editorial which ran in the "New York World Telegram" (6-29-56) denouncing the Fund's blacklisting report, a letter signed by Elmo Roper, George H. Shuster, Robert Hutchins and Paul Hoffman had been sent to the newspaper taking strong exception to the editorial and to Woltman's testimony before the HCUA on the report. Woltman wrote a 23-page brief tearing the letter apart and sent it to Jack Howard (not further identified) in California. Woltman stated that Hoffman phoned him on 7-20-56 and commented that while he, Hoffman, had signed the above-mentioned letter and did not want a retraction, if Woltman

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would point out where the Fund had done injustice with the blacklisting report, he would issue a public statement. Hoffman said he wanted to get together with Foltman to straighten the matter out. (Memorandum, Nichols to Tolson, 7-25-56; 100-391697-A)

"The New York Times" on 8-15-56 published a letter of John Cogley's dated 8-10-56, in which he defended his "Report on Blacklisting." Cogley was critical of the HCUA hearing on his report and intimated that although the HCUA hearings were slanted and hostile, they still established the basic accuracy of the report. He also defended his use of anonymous sources, stating, "I kept my word about not naming sources. I was prepared to go to jail if need be to keep the promises made." (100-391697-A)

On 8-17-56 "The New York Times" published a letter dated 8-13-56 from George D. Shuster, vice chairman of the Fund's Board of Directors. Shuster commended the newspaper for its editorial on 8-4-56 entitled "Hit and Run," which criticized Representative Walter and HCUA for its "arrogant and hit-and-run" hearing on the Fund. Shuster was extremely critical of the Fund's hearing on the report. (100-391697-A)

Representative Walter of the HCUA in a letter which appeared in the 8-23-56 issue of "Washington Post and Times Herald," defended the recent hearing by his Committee on the Fund's blacklisting report. Walter reiterated that the hearing had determined that there was no blacklisting in entertainment industries as claimed by the Fund's report; that his hearing was not directed at the Plymouth Quaker meeting (a second phase of the hearing) but at the Fund itself, which had made the controversial award to the Quaker Library. (100-391697-A)

The Fund on 8-23-56 charged Representative Walter with an "inexcusable violation of the investigative process" in releasing private Fund papers to a radio commentator. The Fund said the incident occurred on 8-6-56 when Fulton Lewis, Jr., read over the radio a private letter from a Fund employee. The letter was allegedly part of the Fund's files subpoenaed by the HCUA and linked with an award to the Plymouth Meeting Library. It is noted that the letter read by Lewis was written by Eleanor B. Stevenson, a Fund Board of Director member, to S. H. Ferry, Fund vice president, on 3-14-56, in which she indicated that the Fund would like to have the controversial award given to the Quaker Library returned to the Fund.

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The Fund cited the above incident as an example of "hit-and-run tactics" employed by Representative Walter in a "deliberate scheme to discredit the Fund." The letter was signed by board members Elmo Roper, George H. Shuster, Chester Bowles, Oscar Hammerstein II, Charles W. Cole and Jubal R. Parten. (Washington Post and Times Herald, 8-29-56; 100-391697-A)

It is noted that Shuster again repeated his criticism of Representative Walter and the HCUA in a letter which he addressed to the editor of the "Washington Post and Times Herald" and which was published by that newspaper on 9-2-56. (100-391697-A)

According to the 8-30-56 "Washington Post and Times Herald," Representative Walter accused the Fund of using tax-exempt money to run a "multimillion-dollar propaganda machine." This was in answer to the Fund's demand on 8-28-56 that he apologize for allegedly sponsoring a "deliberate scheme to discredit the Fund." Walter said his Committee not only will not apologize for its recent investigation of the Fund's activities but soon will launch full-scale hearings to determine whether the Fund is "friend or foe" in our death struggle against Soviet communism." Walter said the hearings already have indicated that the Fund's tax-exempt money has been used for "political subversion." (100-391697-A)

#### Federal Loyalty-Security Program

In November, 1954, the FBI made a grant of \$100,000 to the Association of the Bar of the City of New York for the appointment of a special committee to make an appraisal of the Loyalty-Security Program of the Federal Government.

According to the July 9, 1956, issue of "The Evening Star" newspaper, Washington, D. C., the New York Bar Association had completed the above-mentioned study and recommended that the Government's personnel security system should be maintained "to help counter the continuing communist threat," but sweeping changes are needed to "correct the weaknesses" in it. The committee found these weaknesses in the Security Program:

1. Lack of coordination and supervision of the several programs.
2. Coverage of many jobs that have 'no circumstantial relationship to national security.'
3. Failure of security standards and criteria to permit a common sense judgment on the whole record.
4. Failure of procedures to give enough protection to the Government and to the employees."

(100-391697-A)

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Assistant Attorney General George Cochran Doub of the Department's Civil Division spoke on 8-27-56 before the American Bar Association's Criminal Law Section meeting at Dallas, Texas. Mr. Doub announced that the Government is preparing a new order that will limit the Federal security program to sensitive jobs only. He praised a report recently completed by the Bar Association of New York City under a grant from the Fund for the Republic which evaluated the Government's security program. Doub added that the report was given "the most careful consideration" by the Justice Department. (Washington Post and Times Herald, 8-28-56; 100-391697-A)

Distribution of Books, Articles and Other Material

In March, 1956, the Fund issued 5,000 copies of 3 phonograph records entitled "The Trial of Socrates," "Apology," and "Crito" under the program of distributing audio books. The dialogues were read by movie actor Thomas Mitchell and the records were recorded by the Audio Book Company, St. Joseph, Michigan.

The above records were obtained by the Bureau and reviewed by the Central Research Section. Briefly, the records recount the trial of Socrates, regarded as a danger to the state. The entire selection is extremely flexible for propaganda purposes, as Socrates could symbolize the nonconformist defending his right of freedom of speech. In a foreword to the records, Robert Hutchins states that then, as now, endangering the reputation of influential men is regarded as a danger to the state. It is noted that for propaganda purposes Socrates could also be effectively used to symbolize liberals, non-conformists, and even communists. (100-391697-404,414,416)

In May, 1956, the Fund publicly announced that it would finance and distribute 50,000 copies of a Department of Defense pamphlet entitled, "Who Are the Communists and Why?" The Bureau previously obtained and reviewed this pamphlet, which takes a simple but strong stand against all communism. It does not mention the Bureau and contains no information which is not already known to the Bureau. No slanting of material has been observed in this pamphlet, which apparently is being distributed by the Fund to offset any of the previous complaints that it has been distributing anti-anti-communist literature. (100-391697-376,422,423)

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PART IIICOMPLETED PROJECTS

(October 1, 1956, to December 31, 1956)

COMPLETED STUDIES AND PROJECTSIntegration: North and South

According to the 10/29/56 "Washington Post and Times Herald," the Fund announced the completion of a survey of integration in the North and South since the Supreme Court's 1954 ruling against segregation in public schools. The results of this survey were published in a 120-page book entitled "Integration: North and South," written by David Loth and Harold Fleming under a grant from the Fund.

According to the article, the survey indicates, "There is no longer a Solid South of segregation." Fleming, who surveyed the South, said he found a "large reservoir of good will and capacity for change exists among private citizens, even in states where the official climate is harshly defiant." He also said he found 1100 instances of desegregation in schooling, housing, transportation, employment and public accommodations. Virtually all of them took place smoothly and harmoniously. Loth, who surveyed the North, said his report was "frankly one-sided. It is a list of specific instances of desegregation which constitute positive progress toward the integration of Negroes into the community life of the northern (and southern) United States."

Detailed summaries concerning Loth and Fleming may be found in Bufile 100-391697-432.

DISTRIBUTION OF BOOKS, ARTICLES AND OTHER MATERIALSIndustrial Personnel Security Review Program

Referral/Consult



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### Communism and Civil Liberties

The 12/10/56 issues of "The New York Times" and the "New York Herald Tribune" reflected an article by Walter Millis, consultant for the Fund, in which he analyzed the current Communist Party (CP) program as set forth in the Party's draft resolution to be presented at its national conference scheduled for February 9-12, 1957, in New York City.

The above articles were reviewed by the Internal Security Section, which review reflects that it appears that Millis has made a factual and accurate analysis of the Communist Party's new draft resolution. Millis points out that the draft resolution confesses past Party errors and weaknesses which have isolated it from the masses in this country. The Party's new objective is to expand its mass work by re-establishing a position in labor unions, with the Negro people, and in schools and colleges. Millis points out further that although the Party is proclaiming to be a peaceful organization and operating independently of Moscow, it is the same old Communist Party with its former aims of a Soviet America unchanged. The Fund announced that Millis' articles would be distributed by them in the form of a pamphlet entitled "Communism and Civil Liberties."

Copies of the above pamphlet have been obtained by the Bureau and reviewed by the Internal Security Section. The review revealed the above analysis by Millis. This review was set forth in detail in memorandum from Mr. Belmont to Mr. Boardman dated December 11 and 19, 1956, and captioned "Communist Party, USA, IS - C, Bufile 100-3-5794, 5804; 100-391697-444"

Regarding the above pamphlet, "Communism and Civil Liberties," Leon Racht in his column appearing in the 12/15/56 "Sun Telegraph," a Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, newspaper, states that the Fund's distribution of this article appears to be an attempt to launder some of its left-wing linen publicly. Racht states that the "vague justian style that marks Millis' scribbles makes this tract virtually undecipherable to the reader at large." He states that the Fund has apparently reversed its field in the matter of anti-anti-communism and may be used by the Fund as some sort of a defense in the up-coming probe of the HCUA into the charge that the Fund has been "soft" on the dangers of communism. (100-391697-A)

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## PART III

COMPLETED PROJECTS

(January 1, 1957 to March 31, 1957)

COMPLETED STUDIES AND PROJECTSBlacklisting in Private Industry

The February 9, 1957, issue of the "Saturday Evening Post," contains an editorial which criticizes the Fund's "Report on Blacklisting," as being biased inasmuch as it failed to present both sides of the story. The Fund's report, released in June, 1956, purports to show that there is blacklisting in the entertainment industry of individuals having subversive backgrounds. It has been highly criticized as biased and incomplete since publication. (100-289799-47)

DISTRIBUTION OF BOOKS, ARTICLES AND OTHER MATERIALS"Communism and Civil Liberties"

The 1/4/57 issue of the "Washington Star," contained an editorial favorable to the Fund's pamphlet, "Communism and Civil Liberties," prepared by Walter Mills. The pamphlet warns that the Communist Party would attempt to fool the public by putting on a new disguise. Actually the American press on 1/3/57 reported that the Communist Party, New York State leaders are proposing to present a plan to change the name of the Communist Party and step forth as a "nonparty political action association." The plan will be presented at a national convention of the Communist Party in February, 1957. It is noted that copies of the above pamphlet have been obtained by the Bureau and reviewed by the Internal Security Section. (100-391697-A; 100-391697-444; 100-3-5794, 5804)

Irving Ferman, Washington representative of the American Civil Liberties Union, by letter 1/7/57 forwarded a letter dated 1/3/57 which he had received from Adam Yarmolinsky, secretary of the Fund for the Republic. Yarmolinsky stated "I see by the publisher's trade journals that the Rosenstiel Foundation is distributing 25,000 copies of 'The FBI Story.' This would seem to make any effort on our part superfluous. Anyway the book is clearly a best-seller." (62-101660-31)

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PART III

COMPLETED PROJECTS  
(April 1 to June 30, 1957)

COMPLETED STUDIES AND PROJECTS

Blacklisting in Private Industry

Mr. Nichols by memorandum 5/10/57 reported that while talking to Don Appel of the House Committee on Un-American Activities on other matters, Appel told him that he has been working on the study on blacklisting, that he feels they now have the Fund for the Republic behind the eight ball, that Cogley has printed as fact unconfirmed information, and that income tax records show that all the employees working on the project were paid by the Fund for the Republic. There was no grant to Cogley to carry this on as an independent project; therefore, it must be concluded that this is the work of the Fund.

Appel further stated they have talked to several people mentioned in the report who repudiated what was printed therein; that next to Cogley the conduct of Arnold Forster was reprehensible; that it was Forster who claimed that Victor Riesel got \$1500; that it was Forster who claimed that Riesel paid \$950 each to Jack Lad, Karl Laarslag and an individual named Heuser; and that it was Forster who had involved George Sokolsky. He stated they were trying to subpoena Cogley's records and Cogley has told the Committee that he will answer no more questions, that there may be a high price that he will have to pay but "please God I will be ready to pay it." This means that if Cogley comes before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, he is headed for a contempt citation.

The Committee has secured originals of letters written by Cogley to the Block Drug Company and a reporter named Horton of "Reporter Magazine," wherein Cogley stated he made no promise to keep confidential the information he secured. Thus, when Cogley declines to furnish information and the Committee produces these letters, the fat will be in the fire. (62-103335-3)

In connection with the above, Sokolsky about 5/8/57 sent Mr. Nichols a chronology prepared by Melvin Block which purports to set forth his action in counteracting adverse

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publicity afforded a radio program sponsored by the Block Drug Company. The chronology also reflects Block's contacts with John Cogley and members of his staff in connection with the preparation of Cogley's "Report on Blacklisting." (62-103035-3; 100-340922-432)

According to an article appearing in the 5/10/57 issue of "The New York Times," John Cogley has been subpoenaed for a second appearance before the HCUA. He previously appeared before that committee in July, 1956, in connection with his "Report on Blacklisting," in the entertainment industry and refused to identify his sources of information or turn over his files.

According to the article, Committee Chairman Walter stated on 5/17/57 that the committee had reports to the effect that Cogley had not kept his information sources as inviolate to other sources as he had to the committee. It was indicated that the new subpoena for Cogley was for the purpose of obtaining from him the documents that he had withheld on his first appearance, rather than for further questioning on the contents of his books. It was pointed out that should Cogley refuse to comply with the second subpoena he could be cited for contempt. (100-301637-A)

Concerning the above, the "Daily Worker," on 6/18/57 reported that Cogley in response to the HCUA's second subpoena replied by letter that he will answer no more questions about anything he has written and published. Cogley stated further that he also would not supply the HCUA the documents it demanded. According to the paper, the Committee subsequently announced that they were "indefinitely postponing" Cogley's second appearance before them. (100-301637-A)

A copy of Cogley's "Report on Blacklisting" may be found in Bufile 100-301637-436. A copy of the HCUA's July, 1956, hearing on the report is contained in Bufile 100-301637-439, 440.

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## PART III

GENERALIZED SUBJECT

(July 1, to Sept. 30, 1937)

Pennsylvania Bar Association Endorsement - Study of Wire Tapping

The "Washington, D. C. Evening Star" of September 6, 1937, carried an article on pg. A-13 captioned "Ex-Prosecutor Attacks Law Wiretap Controls" which reflected that Samuel Lash, former District Attorney of Philadelphia had conducted a special study on wiretapping for the Pennsylvania Bar Association which was financed by the Fund for the Republic. (See Part IV, pg. 125)

According to the article Lash, while speaking before the National Association of County and Prosecuting Attorneys at San Francisco, California stated that the "Panacea that someone has tapped your telephone grows stronger every day." Lash said that although wiretapping is on the increase in the United States, enforcement of laws against it was as lax as to be "abominable." "The growth of wiretapping is in such fields as labor, politics and business and by private detectives seeking evidence in marital cases and there is 'an inclination by District Attorneys not to heed' laws against wiretapping."

This news article further reflected that Lash said, "Racketeers have turned to wiretapping, too. I have found they have the best electronic equipment for their job. Some of you may pickle around with \$2,000 or \$3,000 worth of equipment, but the racketeer who goes in for wiretapping multiplies that by 10 times." Lash said that his study had convinced him that police and district attorneys throughout the country want the right to tap phones in criminal investigations. Lash cited Boston as the only exception and said, "Although Massachusetts has a law permitting wiretapping by police, the top echelon of the Boston Police Department say they don't use it because it is dirty business and they don't think it is especially useful."

Lash concluded that if district attorneys and prosecutors want to win the right to use wiretaps in criminal cases they will first have to earn public respect by prosecuting private wiretappers. CC-100310 A

A summary of information in Cuyler regarding Lash can be found in CC-100310-G.

PART III  
CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS  
 (Jan. 1, to March 31, 1950)

American Bar Association  
Special Committee on Individual Rights as affected  
by National Security

The ECRA report of its findings regarding the FFD reflected "The first prong of funds made by the Fund was to the 'Special Committee on Individual Rights as affected by National Security' of the American Bar Association.... The Bar Committee conducted research and made findings. Lutchins in his direction of the Fund has not disseminated its report of findings and as a matter of fact rejects many of them.... The Special Bar Committee found: 'a militant world communist threatens both the internal and external security of the Nation. The nature of the threat is now clearly defined for all to see. Internally, the Communist conspiracy seeks to weaken and divide the Nation.'"

Other findings of the Special Bar Committee supported Congressional investigations, the methods used and the results achieved.

The ECRA report stated "The Fund paid for the research which produced the above findings but they were apparently rejected by the Fund." The ECRA report then pointed out "facts" as stated by Lutchins which ignore the findings of the Fund's research.  
 (Pgs 9-10 of ECRA rept.)

Internal Communist Menace Project

The ECRA report of its findings regarding the FFD reflected, in part, as follows concerning this project: "To determine not if fear existed, but the extent of the fear was encompassed in the Fund's first project. This project started out to determine the extent of the 'Internal Communist Menace' but when the suppositions were not supported by the research, it became an attitude survey. Needless to say, the survey did not locate the existence of fear. However, Mr. Lutchins again ignored the research which was obtained by tax-exempt funds. According to



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'The New York Times' of February 10, 1950, stating in a speech claimed the 'elements within the country, either because of real fear or because they have seen political advantage in capitalizing on the fears of others, have sought to suspend or weaken the guarantees of the Bill of Rights.'

Study of Communist Influence in Labor Elements of United States Society

The HCUA report of its findings regarding the FEH reflected that according to the 3-year report of the Fund the Board of Directors in December, 1943, authorized a study of communist influences in major segments of United States society. The HCUA made an examination of the minutes of the board meeting held on November 10, 1943 and learned that it was not communist influences which was the subject matter voted upon, rather the directors appropriated \$250,000 for a "Definite History of Communism in the United States." The minutes of a meeting held on June 23, 1944, reflected that the board decided to modify the scope of the history of the CPUSA into smaller projects which would consider: "(a) analysis of Communist espionage and (b) infiltration and indoctrination methods, with emphasis on the study of infiltration of groups such as unions, teachers, etc. and the methods used by such groups to turn back Communist infiltration." The HCUA report reflected a statement by the project director Clinton Rossiter which appeared to show different objectives of the project. Rossiter stated he hoped that his study would "reduce sharply some of the notorious confusion about the influence of communism that now plagues public policies, political debate, and intellectual purpose in this country." The HCUA report reflected that the HCUA devoted many hours to research into the background of the directors and scholars of the Fund project, and found, after an examination of their writings, that a majority possessed a bias toward their subjects which made them incompetent to accurately portray factual data which would tend to contradict their bias. (Pg. 9 of HCUA report)

Blacklisting in Private Industry

The HCUA report of its findings regarding the FEH reflected that the HCUA had investigated "blacklisting" starting in 1951, and found it was a word primarily used by the CP to pressure for the continued employment of a fellow communist or his re-employment if he had been fired.

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Regarding the FFD's project on "Blacklisting," which resulted in the publication of a two-volume report by John Cogley, the ECRA report reflected, "It was designed to re-establish employment opportunities for members of the CP in the vital area of radio and television." (Pg. 62 of ECRA report)

Regarding John Cogley, director of the Blacklisting project who refused to identify the anonymous sources of information used in his report, the ECRA report reflected, "Cogley's claim that he cannot divulge source because of confidential assurance which he and the Fund employees gave those interviewed is a lie, provable as such, by Cogley himself." The ECRA report documented this statement by quoting a letter written by Cogley on December 17, 1955, to one of his "anonymous" sources who complained that Cogley had broken his confidence. "Write Cogley with respect to assurance not to divulge. You will recall that although I assured you I had not shown the material to anyone, I made no promise at that time that I would not. I have no desire to show it to anyone, but when my reticence is used against me I am given no choice. The same goes for other material in my possession."

"Compare this with Cogley's sworn testimony that he had given his sources assurances that they would remain anonymous." (Pg. 70 of ECRA report)

#### Freedom Agenda Program

The report of the ECRA regarding its findings concerning the FFD reflected that early in 1954 Anna Lord Strauss, an official of the League of Women Voters, commenced informal discussion with the president of the FFD. Her purpose for approaching the Fund was to seek a grant of money to combat a "climate of fear and suspicion" which had been "generated in this country by many factors," described as "the prolonged cold war, restrictive security measures, the nationwide hate campaigns, and the emotional strain caused by the Korean conflict."

According to the ECRA report, the FFD was prohibited by law to engage in political activities, or the influencing of legislation, and therefore could not appropriate to the League of Women Voters. It was also not desirable because the League was on record with opinions on these subjects. A disinterested vehicle was needed and the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, Inc. (CCMF) became the disinterested vehicle.

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The CCCNY was created by the League of Women Voters as an educational fund in December, 1947.

Anna Lord Strauss became chairman of the Freedom Agenda Program and Alfred H. Kelly, chairman of the History Department, Wayne University, Detroit, Michigan, became its director. (Page 27 of LGJA report)

Anna Lord Strauss was investigated by the Bureau in May and June, 1957, as a United Nations employee. Bufiles reflect that in 1951, Mrs. Strauss and the League of Women Voters were in harmony with the communist controlled American Labor Party in urging the Governor of New York to veto proposed legislation which would bar from teaching, in the classified civil service system, persons who believe in the overthrow of our Government. Bufiles also reflect Mrs. Strauss was also a sponsor of a CP front organization (no date available) and in 1953 was a sponsor of a luncheon in honor of a former CP member. On January 27, 1959, one Anna Lord Strauss wrote a check for \$500 payable to an individual but deposited in an account which received funds payable to the Alger Lisa Defense Fund.

Alger Lisa was found guilty in January, 1959, of two charges of perjury, one of which was that he lied when he said he never abstracted secret Government papers from the U. S. State Department for transmission to unauthorized persons. (155-2712-11, 12, 19)

Alfred H. Kelly, Professor, Wayne University, Detroit, Michigan, has not been investigated by the Bureau. On C-10-42 his name appeared on a "List for Sponsoring Committee for Michigan Congress for Freedom of Earl Browder," (General Secretary of the CP, U.S.A. in 1942). In 1946, Kelly's name appeared on a list described as a list of financial contributors and sponsors in Michigan to the American Youth for Democracy (AYD). In 1952, Kelly was reported to have said that he had no objections to communist teachers as long as they taught their subject matter without a communist slant. In August and September, 1955, Kelly was the subject of a controversy in the Detroit, Michigan, area when, according to a newspaper article, the Army described him as a contributor and supporter of the AYD. In September, 1955, Secretary of the Army Brucker issued a statement to the press admitting that a mistake was made in the allegation against Kelly. (62-100100-1, 11, 13, 21)

Concerning the Freedom Agenda Program, the LGJA report reflected that the LGJA investigation made evident certain assumptions as follows:

1. The Freedom Agenda Program was primarily under the leadership of the League of Women Voters.
2. The programs were not intended to reaffirm the approvals expressed by the people of such things as Congressional investigations of communism, loyalty-security programs, removal of communists from education, or of legislation such as the Smith, McCarran, and Internal Security Acts.
3. The FEI's appropriation to the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund was for the purpose of permitting the Fund to engage in activities which neither it nor the League of Women Voters could do with tax-exempt money.

The FEI report further reflected that certain Freedom Agenda authors were biased according to their advocations in the articles written for discussion as part of the Freedom Agenda Program. The subjects for discussion included opposition to legislative investigations of communism, opposition to the removal of communists from positions in the Government or in defense facilities or colleges, and opposition to legislation such as the Smith and Internal Security Acts. (page 43 of FEI report)

#### The Study of Fear in Education

The FEI report of its findings regarding the FEI reflected that Robert M. Hutchins wrote an article which appeared in the March 9, 1954, issue of "Look" magazine entitled "Are Teachers Afraid to Teach." Concerning this article the FEI report reflected "Hutchins, without investigation, found that 'education is impossible in many parts of the United States today because free inquiry and free discussion are impossible.'"

"Even in these communities," wrote Hutchins, "the teacher of economics, history, or political science cannot teach." The reasons for this condition, Hutchins factually stated was "investigations into the loyalties of its teachers."

On January 24, 1955, the FEI publicly announced its Fear in Education Project. The fund's press release, after announcing that the purpose of the project was to determine whether or not there was fear, resolved that fear existed and the questions to be asked by questionnaire and interview, were merely to determine to what degree it existed.

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The LSCA report reflected that LSCA requested a copy of the report on this project in June, 1957, and was advised by the FEA that the report was made orally to the board of directors and no written report existed. The LSCA report pointed out that at a board of directors meeting on February 15, 1958, Elmo Loper, Chairman of the board, recommended and the board approved that the Year in Education findings be reduced to manuscript form suitable for publication. The FEA had not published the report as of January, 1958, and LSCA was unable to determine the results of the study. (Pgs 92-91 of LSCA report)

#### Fellowship and Grant-in-Aid Program

The LSCA report of its findings regarding the FEA reflected that the Three-Year Report of the FEA reflected the Fund had expended \$224,546 up to May, 1956, on this program. The FEA denied the LSCA access to its records and the LSCA was unable to determine how much in additional funds was expended on this program. The LSCA report reflected that most of the studies under this program, excluding those relating to religious and racial matters, related in some way to the interest of the CP and its members. The LSCA was unable to locate a single study which produced an objective discussion of the problems involved in the field of study. The LSCA study of many of the recipients of fellowships and grants-in-aid demonstrated them to possess a prejudice in relationship to their area of inquiry. The recipients of the grants, in many instances, had been publicly proclaiming their prejudice over a great many years. The FEA knew of the existence of this prejudice and utilized it by making grants to those possessing a prejudice.

The board of directors of the Fund placed into the hands of Fund President Latching, and the officers under his control, the responsibility of determining three things: that the subject was in the interest of the Fund; determining the judgment of the recipient; and determine if the recipient's work was constructive. The LSCA report reflected that under these criteria Latching determines that someone sharing opinions similar to his, possesses mature judgment; that his work is constructive; and the program falls within the interest of the Fund.

(Pg 117 of LSCA report)

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INTERNAL SECURITY

William Jackson Memorial Library  
Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania

The HCUA report of its findings regarding the FFR reflected that on June 20, 1955 the FFR announced it had awarded \$5,000 to a Tucker Lecting in Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania for "courage and effective defense of democratic principles in refusing to disavow a librarian who would not take the Pennsylvania loyalty oath." The HCUA report reflected that this award was approved on May 10, 1955 and the ensuing period had been used by the officers of the FFR to set its strategy on a propaganda campaign. A reported note on a memo of the FFR dated June 20, 1955 read "Mr. Hoffman wants to see this on the front page of everything."

On July 6, 1955 Mrs. Eleanor D. Stevenson, of the board of directors of the FFR presented the award to the Plymouth Monthly Lecting and stated that the award was made because of an unfair attack on Mary Knowles. Mrs. Stevenson claimed the Plymouth Monthly Lecting knew the attack was unfair because the Jackson Memorial Library committee had made an "honest and painstaking investigation" prior to hiring Mary Knowles and found her to be a loyal American.

The HCUA report reflected that the Jackson Memorial Library Committee had conducted no investigation into Mary Knowles's background and according to Mary Knowles's testimony before the HCUA, they did not even ask her if she was a Communist Party member.

The HCUA report also pointed out that the Jackson Memorial Library Committee knew that Knowles had been asked to leave her former position because she invoked the fifth amendment while testifying and "was unwilling to confirm or deny to our Board of Trustees (Corrill Memorial Library) her membership in the Communist Party." (Page 43)

In order to realize the propaganda value of the Mary Knowles Award the HCUA report reflected that Joseph Lyford, "the Fund's top propagandist, went to work even before the Fund for the Republic announced its award." Six national magazines were furnished with the FFR version of the controversy, which was an edited version of the FFR investigative report which recommended the award and included false statements regarding Mary Knowles. In addition the FFR financed a television news clip, which was prepared prior to the date of the award and marked for release at the precise hour and date of the award. The HCUA report shows the television clip to be misleading and deceitful.

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SECRETIAL MATTER

Dr. Goodwin Watson

The LSCA report of its findings regarding the FFI reflected the officers of the FFI had approved an award in behalf of Dr. Goodwin Watson, which was similar to the Mary Knicker award. The officers of the FFI approved the award, decided on the amount, recommended it to the Fund's board of directors and then sent Laureen Black Ogden to make the investigation. The LSCA report reflected, "By the time the Fund for the Republic got around to even considering the award to a medical center and to Community Chest groups, in up-State New York, there was not even a controversy remaining." Dr. Watson had been retained by the medical center in a consultant capacity. Laureen Black Ogden made no independent investigation of the facts surrounding Dr. Goodwin Watson. She interviewed only those individuals who supported the action of retaining Dr. Watson.

According to the LSCA report the only purpose that could be served by this award was the encouragement of organizations to hire individuals who have long records for support of communist causes. The LSCA report reflected that the directors of the FFI on November 17, 1955, reconsidered their action and suspended the award they had previously voted. In suspending the award the FFI withheld its action from the press in contrast to a nationwide press release at the time the award was made.

In June, 1957, the LSCA inquired of the FFI the reason for suspending the award and was told the action was initiated by the members of the board of directors at a meeting and the files did not reflect any reason for the suspension. (Pg. 123)

Concerning Dr. Watson, the LSCA report reflected that the Congress of the U. S. enacted legislation to withhold funds for the position once held by Watson in order to remove him from the Federal Payroll. The legislation was "knocked down" and Watson continued to support causes, including the communist-directed riots which revolved around Paul Robeson's appearance in Peekskill, N. Y. He has been a witness before the Committee on Un-American Activities and has consistently and publicly called for its abolishment. (Pg. 125)

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Dr. Goodwin Darbour Watson, a professor of Education at Teachers College, Columbia University, N.Y., N.Y., is the subject of Bufile 101-3702. The October 3, 1954, issue of the "New York World Telegram and Sun" carried an article which reflected that a Larchmont, N.Y., Community Chest "trial" committee "acquitted" Dr. Watson of charges of procommunist affiliation leveled at him by the Americanism Commission of the Westchester County American Legion. (101-3702-54)

Dr. Watson was on the Security Index until September 27, 1953. He has been described by Louis Budenz as a member of a considerable number of communist front groups and his name was used extensively in getting postal workers to join the CP, his prestige being stressed as a leading psychologist who was close to the communist cause. Budenz stated that Watson was frequently mentioned as a communist but Budenz could supply no evidence of CP membership on the part of Watson. (101-3702-49, 56)

DISTRIBUTION OF BOOKS, ALBUMS AND OTHER MATERIAL

The ECIA report of its findings regarding the FFR reflected that ECIA could prove from the minutes of the board of directors' meetings that in many fields of endeavor, Fund President Hutchins acted without consulting the directors. The ECIA report reflected that in November, 1953, the directors found it necessary to reassert their authority and at the same time restrict Hutchins. The board minutes of November 16, 1953, with respect to the distribution of publications reads: "It was agreed that this program should be continued along these lines - each item recommended by the officers is to be cleared by the counsel, presented to the board and approved by the board, both as to subject matter and as to plans for distribution before any distribution is made. etc."

According to the ECIA report, Hutchins, prior to this action, distributed anything he desired, most of which supported his publicized positions. (Pg. 22 of ECIA report)

"The Fifth Amendment Today" by Erwin H. Griswold.

The report of the ECIA regarding the FFR reflected that "The Fifth Amendment Today" was a reprint of three speeches made on February 5, March 14, and October 14 and 15, 1954 by Erwin H. Griswold, Dean of the Harvard Law School and a director of the FFR.

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The LSCA report observed that the speeches were made during a period when there was pending in State and Federal Courts litigation in which Critchfield disagreed. One was the case of a New York school teacher who was disciplined upon invocation of the Fifth Amendment. Another was a case pending in New Hampshire growing out of an individual's refusal to answer certain questions before a New Hampshire legislative tribunal. The third was the Federal immunity statute being tested before a Federal grand jury, which would grant immunity from prosecution to anyone testifying against their own interests.

In his speeches Critchfield defended the right to invoke the Fifth Amendment and retain one's job; indicated it was false to accuse critics on the part of anyone who invoked the Fifth Amendment; and did not approve of the Federal immunity statute.

The LSCA report reflected "Within weeks after the October, 1954 speech, the Fund for the Republic contracted to distribute these non-scholarly essays, which were designed to educate the people into an acceptance of a position taken by Harvard, its attorneys and members of the Federal Bench." The LSCA report reflected the FFD distributed 25,000 copies of this publication to the "bench and bar." To overcome the criticism which was voiced against the FFD for this distribution the FFD reprinted and distributed an essay on the Fifth Amendment by E. D. Williams of Fordham University. However, the FFD distributed only 1,000 copies of Williams' essay and did not send it to those who had received Critchfield's publication. In addition the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee reprinted Critchfield's speech of February 5, 1954 and the FFD financed this reprint.

"The Kent Critchfield" by Richard N. Poirer

The LSCA report of its findings regarding the FFD reflected this was an article published in the May, 1955, issue of "Harper's Magazine," 25,000 reprints of which were distributed by the Fund to labor officials and business executives. According to the LSCA report, the Fund's board of directors discussed approval of a series of pamphlets at a meeting on November 10, 1954. The proposal was not clear to the directors so they authorized the FFD officers to begin the preparation of a pilot pamphlet. At an FFD executive committee meeting held on December 9, 1954, Fund

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President Robert W. Hutchins reported that Richard E. Lovers had been requested by the officers to prepare a pilot pamphlet for board consideration as an example of the type of publication which the FBI might undertake under the title, "Occasional Papers." Lovers wrote his pamphlet and it was rejected by the board of directors but was printed in the May, 1955, issue of "Harper's Magazine." The LORA report reflected that "apparently, even before the article appeared on the newsstand the officers of the FBI, without advice from the directors, contracted for 25,000 reprints." (Pg. 7 of LORA report)

Among other things "The Left Witnesses" attacked the use of CP informants as witnesses and, according to the LORA report, "the effect is to dry up as sources of information, available to both the FBI and Congressional Committees, the flow of testimony from former members of the Communist Party."

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PART III  
COMPLETED PROJECTS  
(April 1, to June 30, 1958)

FREEDOM IN THE TELEVISION INDUSTRY

The "Washington Post and Times Herald" of April 17, 1958, carried an article on page B-12 captioned "Fund Loses TV News Freedom Curb" which reflected that the FFR had sponsored a study and issued a 15-page report regarding the television industry's freedom to gather news. The report was written by Herbert Mitgang, an editor in the Sunday Department of "The New York Times," who has not been previously identified with the FFR. According to the article Mitgang's study indicated that the television industry did not enjoy the same freedom as the American newspapers in its role as news gatherer and broadcaster. As an example of the curb on the freedom of television the study cited the criticism leveled against the Columbia Broadcasting System's televised interview with Soviet Leader Nikita S. Khrushchev. Mitgang's report stated the President of the U.S. made a statement which "implied criticism" and important members of Congress openly challenged the wisdom of the presentation."

A summary of information contained in Bufiles re Herbert Mitgang may be found in 100-391697-508.

The "Bulletin" of the FFR dated May, 1958, reflected Mitgang's report was entitled "FREEDOM TO SEE: The Khrushchev Broadcast and its Meaning for Television." (Bureau library)

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